

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1854.

ART I.—1. *Denkschrift des Episcopates der oberrheinischen Kirchenprovinz, in Bezug auf die Königlich Württembergische, Grossherzoglich-Badische, Grossherzoglich Hessische und Herzoglich Nassauische allerhöchste Entschliessung vom 5 März 1853 in Betreff der Denkschrift des Episcopates vom März, 1851. Zweyte Auflage. 1853.* [Memorial of the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine, in reference to the Resolutions of the 5th of March, 1853, which were taken by the respective Governments of the King of Württemberg, of the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau in regard to the Episcopal Memorial of March, 1851. Second Edition. Freyburg in Breisgau, 1853.]

2. *Das Recht der Kirche im Badischen Kirchenstreit.* [The Rights of the Church in the Ecclesiastical Contest in Baden.] Mayence, 1853.

3. *Deutsche Volk's-Halle.* November und December. 1853.

THE Catholic Church, which in Germany had received so fearful a shock in the sixteenth century, shorn as she then was of so many of her fairest provinces, had, towards the close of that age, partially recovered her losses. She was then recruiting her strength, and arraying herself in new comeliness, putting forth fresh institutes of piety and learning, and exerting the most benign influence on public and private life, when the tremendous conflict of the Thirty Years' War checked her career of beneficence. Scarce had Catholic Germany begun to rally from the long exhaustion consequent on that struggle, when, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, Febronianism introduced new elements of disturbance into her Church. Moral laxity, as well as the doctrines of Jansenism, which

had been transplanted from France into Germany, smoothed the way for the success of this error. The ecclesiastical electors and the prince-bishops, engrossed with the cares of temporal government, habitually delegated to others the spiritual administration of their dioceses. The canons, in many chapters, chosen exclusively from noble families, were frequently sluggish and lukewarm in the discharge of their sacred duties, as well as indifferent to the cultivation, or even patronage of learning. Among the religious orders much laxity had crept in.

It was at this critical juncture that Febronianism arose. Von Hontheim, a suffragan bishop of the elector of Treves, published under the name of Febronius, a work denying the divine institution of the Papacy, conceding to the Pope a mere primacy of honour, and not a supremacy of jurisdiction, and deriving his dignity from the Church, and not from our Lord. His book, though written without talent or learning, yet, as it flattered the spirit of insubordination so prevalent in that age, found wide circulation, and exerted a most mischievous influence. Many of the clergy and laity, inoculated with its principles, became the pliant tools of the Emperor Joseph II., who, not many years after the publication of that work, ascended the imperial throne of Germany. This prince, endowed with an excellent understanding and great natural benevolence, might have been the bulwark and the ornament of his country. By his perverse policy, he became its scourge, inflicting on the Church and state of Austria calamities even to this day intensely felt. Surrounded by Jansenists and infidels, he brought about, through the instrumentality of the former, the triumph of the latter. While the Catholic press was reduced to a forced silence, schismatical, and even impious publications met with every encouragement. All direct communication between the Holy See and the Austrian bishops was interdicted; all intercourse between religious houses and their foreign superiors was prohibited; almost all convents and monasteries were gradually suppressed; their property confiscated with a brutal violence, equalled only by the Revolutionists of a more recent date; all religious confraternities were put under ban; pilgrimages and processions were strictly forbidden; the most minute, puerile, and withal vexatious regulations issued respecting Divine worship, by the emperor himself, who sought to dim the beauty of the sanctuary; clerical education brought



under the exclusive management of the state ; episcopal jurisdiction trampled under foot ; and every effort made to bring about a national schism.

In temporal affairs, the emperor Joseph II. pursued an analogous policy. Many of the institutions of the old paternal monarchy were swept away—the political rights of the clergy and nobles violated—the usages and franchises of provinces set at nought—the free municipalities curtailed of their privileges—a centralizing bureaucracy established in their room—the most equitable demands of the local legislatures treated with disdain ; till universal discontent, disaffection, and civil war revealed to the infatuated monarch the abyss he had brought his country to. In his civil, as well as ecclesiastical policy, Joseph II. was the worthy precursor of the French Revolutionists.

While in the east of Germany this emperor was exerting so cruel and debasing a tyranny over the Church, in the west, the ecclesiastical electors of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne held a Synod at the town of Ems, where they passed a series of resolutions, most derogatory to the rights and jurisdiction of the Holy See, and proved themselves too faithful followers of the principles of Febronius. But Providence was preparing avengers as well on those who thus so shamefully betrayed their sacred trust, as on those who had so long and so cruelly persecuted His Church. The invading armies of revolutionary France tore the Netherlands from the crown of Austria, and shortly afterwards annexed the ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine to the “one and indivisible” Republic.

During the revolutionary wars, the Catholic Church of Germany remained in a state of extreme languor and depression. Sees kept long vacant—parishes bereft of their pastors—monasteries unpeopled of their inmates—the ministers of religion despoiled of their patrimony—the religious edifices robbed of their sacred treasures or falling to decay ;—such was the sad spectacle exhibited in many parts of Catholic Germany.

By the organic decree of the imperial diet, held at Ratisbon in the year 1803,\* the secular princes, whose territories had been seized on by the French, and were incor-

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\* This is called by the Germans, “Reich's-Deputation's Haupt-Schluss.”

porated in the Rheish Confederation, were indemnified out of the ecclesiastical principalities and domains.

Paralysed as the Catholic Church in Germany thus was by her natural defenders and protectors, how could she cope with the formidable errors of the age? Assailed on her northern frontier by German Rationalism, and on her western by French Voltairianism,—two forms of irreligion that both issued out of the Reformation of the sixteenth century—she needed all her moral strength and material resources to resist such new and dangerous foes. But how, with her sanctuary despoiled—with her religious services curtailed—her old endowments confiscated—her various institutes for the promotion of piety, charity, education, and learning suppressed—and so many of her pastors indolent and tepid, or imbued with false and schismatical doctrines;—how could she meet this formidable crisis?

To the same cause is to be ascribed the feebleness of German Catholic literature in the eighteenth century. At a time when the Protestant mind of Germany was putting forth so many splendid master-pieces of genius and learning, nothing could be more tame and insignificant than the contemporaneous literature of Catholic Germany.

For this twofold phenomenon, causes internal and external may be assigned. Protestant Germany, emancipated from the arbitrary trammels of the old Lutheranism, and finding in Rationalism a more consistent development of the principle of private judgment—the life of Protestantism—displayed that intellectual strength, which the sense of consistency ever imparts, and before the direful consequences, moral, intellectual, and social of Rationalism had had time to develope.

But how could Catholic Germany have a share in this spring-tide of the national literature, when its natural protector, the emperor, was the bitter persecutor of the Church, and inexorably proscribed all Catholic publications: when even some of the ecclesiastical princes gave themselves up to the counsels of irreligious ministers; and when a bastard Catholicism, under the name of Febronianism, was everywhere fostered and encouraged? How could a sham have the force of a reality? How could Catholic art, and letters, and philosophy spring out of a semi-Protestantism? Accordingly, it was only when the horrors of the French Revolution had revealed the turpitude of the Voltairian philosophy, and the excesses of German Rationalism had

led many distinguished Protestants to embrace the Catholic faith, Catholic Germany entered on her career of moral and intellectual regeneration.

The territories, which once formed part either of the Austrian empire, or of the ecclesiastical electorates and principalities, like those of the bishopric of Münster, and the archbishoprics of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, were in 1803 handed over to Protestant princes, like the King of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, the King of Würtemberg, and others. The treaty of Westphalia, which left untouched the relations between the Catholic subjects of Catholic sovereigns, regulated and determined, according to the normal year, 1624, the religious rights and liberties of Catholic subjects living under Protestant rulers. These rights and liberties the above-named Protestant governments have up to the present time more or less grievously violated. Hence their oppression of the Catholic Church in these newly-acquired provinces was more manifestly illegal and unjustifiable, than even the religious tyranny of the emperor Joseph II. over his Catholic subjects.

By their system of refined oppression, these Protestant Governments conceived they had for ever enslaved, and would eventually be able to ruin the Catholic Church. In fact, by the *Placet* they impeded the free circulation of spiritual life between the head and the members of the Church; by the almost exclusive nomination to ecclesiastical benefices they hoped to possess in the clergy pliant instruments for their policy; by the proscription of religious orders they sought to enfeeble the Church, and by checking the growth of all sacerdotal piety and learning to paralyse her influence; while, by shutting her out from all control over schools, colleges, and universities, they strove to secularize education, bring up a generation totally estranged from Catholic teaching, and thus prepare, as they fondly believed, the way for Protestantism.

But the Scripture tells us, "where the Lord buildeth not the house, they who labour build it in vain." And they who conspire against the Lord and against His Christ, have been caught in their own devices. The Protestantism which these German princes would fain have transplanted on the Catholic soil, was a rotten plant without prolific force, or prolific only to destruction. The extremes of German Rationalism, as well as the dreadful scenes of the French

Revolution, had provoked a strong Catholic reaction throughout Europe; and Catholic Germany did not remain behind this movement. Illustrious converts led the way in this new train of thought; and old Catholics, equally distinguished, were associated in their labours and their glory. The priesthood, now chiefly taken from the ranks of the peasantry, which in Catholic Germany had preserved untainted the purity of faith and morals, was by degrees renovated in mind and temper, and presented a remarkable contrast to the clergy of the preceding age. With this religious spirit it combined ample profane and theological learning, acquired in the universities, and especially in those theological Faculties which these Protestant Governments were bound by the Concordats to maintain, and for which, while no professors could be nominated without episcopal approbation, the very credit of those governments forced them to choose able and learned men.

Dishonestly as they acted in not filling up or in leaving vacant the chairs of philosophy and history in direct opposition to the statutes of the mixed universities, they could not elude the obligation of maintaining theological faculties. Thus, at the university of Tübingen, while not a single lay Catholic was appointed to a professorial chair, a Catholic Theological faculty subsisted, adorned by the most eminent divines, and annexed to it was a convictorium, or seminary for Church students. This seminary was quite independent of the university; many of its members never attended any lecture of a Protestant professor; and thus, while Rationalism and Pantheism were uttering their blasphemies around, it became the seminary of the most illustrious defenders of the Church. Here Drey, and Möhler, and Staudenmaier, and Hefele successively taught.

At Freyburg in 1840, a reform was made with the sanction of the Baden Government in the theological faculty. But that very reform has, with the grace of God, been instrumental in training up a clergy that at this moment forms the nucleus of an energetic opposition to the Court in its impious encroachments on episcopal jurisdiction.

The Prussian cabinet affected for a time greater liberality, and called to the chairs of philosophy and canon law distinguished Catholics, like Windischmann and Walter, and to the divinity professorship an eminent theologian, like

Dr. Klee, who there overthrew the ascendancy of Hermetism.

But unjust as this Government often was to Catholics in violating the statutes of the mixed universities, its conduct was toleration itself, when compared with that of the petty states of Germany. The university of Freyburg—though a strictly Catholic foundation—the Baden Government made every attempt to protestantize, not appointing a single layman of Catholic principles. In the mixed universities of Tübingen and Giessen, Protestantism, contrary to positive statutes, as well as all justice, has ever had far more than the lion's share:—indeed, out of the theological faculty, Catholicism has obtained nothing.

But see how these iniquitous Governments have been caught in their own toils! Some of the professors of history whom they nominated, though tolerably indifferent to religion, were honest and impartial, as well as able and learned men, who had outgrown the prejudices of the sixteenth century, and therefore could mete out justice to Catholics and Protestants alike. Others again were men, who, half approximated to the Catholic Church, and treading in the footsteps of the illustrious John von Müller, the founder of the modern historical school of Germany, were enthusiastic admirers of the middle age, defended the Popes in their contests with the emperors, as the champions of European freedom and civilization, and solved some of the more difficult problems of mediæval history with more fairness as well as depth, than the Catholic Gallicans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This course of historic research has led not a few eminent men, (and among the more recent examples we may notice distinguished historians, like Hurter and lately Gfrörer) to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The same remark will apply, though in a less intense degree, to several Protestant professors of philosophy.

But events were rushing on. The glorious resistance made in 1837 by M. von Droste-Vischering, the archbishop of Cologne to the iniquitous encroachments of the Prussian Government, broke the yoke of tyranny, that had long weighed on the German Church. This event acted like an electric shock through all Germany. The zealous it inflamed with new zeal—it roused up the lukewarm—it emboldened the timid—infused new vigour into episcopal counsels, and rallied the clergy and all ranks of the laity

around their afflicted Church. Next followed the reform above adverted to in the theological faculty of Freyburg. This was succeeded in 1844 by the schismatical movement of Ronge, which served but to purge the Church in Silesia and Baden of bad priests, and stimulate the zeal of the faithful. This again was followed by the dreadful Revolution of 1848, which convulsed Germany to her foundations. The course and issue of this Revolution are too vivid in the reader's memory to require any mention. The freedom of the Catholic Church was solemnly stipulated in the parliament of Frankfort. And the emancipation of that Church has been one of the few good results of a Revolution, which, had it not been arrested in its destructive career, would have established in Germany a bloody and anarchic terrorism.

A large proportion of German bishops assembled in the year 1849 at Würzburg, and there drew up a statement of ecclesiastical grievances, and invited the princes of Germany by carrying into effect the principle of perfect religious freedom, as proclaimed at Frankfort, to remedy these grievances. With a like intent the Austrian bishops assembled in council at Vienna the following year, and addressed a similar petition to their monarch.

These episcopal demands, grounded as they are on justice, on Canon Law, on the principles not only of the old German empire, but on those recently proclaimed by the Frankfort parliament, and incorporated into the new political constitutions of the states of Germany, have not everywhere met with the same success. In Austria, indeed, thanks to her pious and chivalrous emperor, those demands have been fully acceded to; in Prussia, they have been so to a great extent; in Bavaria, they have been but imperfectly realized, and with an ill grace on the part of the Government; while in Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and, to a less degree, in electoral Hesse, they have been flatly refused. This denial of claims so just and sacred has brought on the contest still going on between the last-named Governments and the episcopate of the Upper-Rhenish province.

The archbishop of Freyburg and his suffragan bishops, the bishop of Limburg, the bishop of Rottenburg, the bishop of Fulda, and the bishop of Mayence, drew up in 1851 a memorial to the above-named Governments of Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Electoral Hesse,



and Nassau, claiming a restitution of long-withheld episcopal rights. These episcopal rights concerned, firstly, the appointment to all ecclesiastical benefices where the Government could not show a clear, canonical title to the right of presentation; secondly, ecclesiastical education, as regards the control over seminaries, and a concurrence in the nomination of theological professors at universities; thirdly, the examination of candidates for Holy Orders; fourthly, the abolition of the Government Placet in respect to all papal bulls; fifthly, the regulation of public worship; sixthly, the establishment of monasteries and ecclesiastical congregations of all kinds; seventhly, the right to enforce ecclesiastical penalties against the laity; eighthly, the right of free intercourse with the Holy See; ninthly, the free election to bishoprics and to prebendal stalls; tenthly, the appointment of vicars-general, and the officials of the ordinary; eleventhly, the long-promised landed endowment of bishoprics; twelfthly, the independent administration of ecclesiastical property; and lastly, a large influence of the Church over every description of schools.

These claims and demands of the Upper-Rhenish Episcopate, the above-named Governments have with various modifications refused. Their reasons for rejecting the episcopal demands, were embodied in a series of Resolutions dated the 5th March, 1853.

The Bishops in the Memorial, which stands at the head of our article, have replied to this State-Paper, and by an elaborate argument vindicated every claim they had advanced in the first Memorial, which in 1851 they addressed to the several Governments above-named. In this masterly address, which is generally attributed to the pen of Baron von Ketteler, the holy Bishop of Mayence, all the claims of the Prelates on the points above adverted to, are proved and defended by the maxims of Canon Law, as it is received throughout the whole Catholic Church; by recent Concordats entered into between the Holy See and these very States; by the letter and the spirit of their own civil Constitution and municipal laws; by the public Law of Germany in all ages, and especially since the Treaty of Westphalia; by historical precedents in different countries, and lastly, by the dictates of common sense.

The above-named Governments in their State-Paper quite overlook the rightfulness of the claims urged by



the prelates, and consider merely the expediency of their demands in regard to the well-being of the State. But to make right subordinate to expediency, is as the bishops well observe, to overturn all notions of justice, undermine the very foundations of society, and consequently, bring ruin on the State itself. This cry of public safety, say the prelates, is the pretext under which the Revolutionists in the last and present century have sought to subvert all vested interests, and assail the most sacred rights.

The spiritual independence of the Catholic Church, and all the rights, which that independence involves, as they were founded on immemorial usage in all German States, and were solemnly guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia, that defined the religious liberties of Catholic subjects, living under Protestant Governments, were again at the commencement of this century expressly recognized by the organic decree of the Imperial Diet, held at Ratisbon in the year 1803. These spiritual rights of the Catholic Church this Diet sanctioned, at the very moment that it was secularizing the Ecclesiastical Electorates, and confiscating Church-property. Equally solemn was the recognition and sanction, that those rights received from the Constitution of the Protestant Governments, to which the Catholic territories constituting the Upper-Rhenish Ecclesiastical Province, were at the commencement of this century handed over.

These Governments, which took possession of the territories formerly subject to the ecclesiastical Electors, grievously violated the liberties of the Church. Against their unjust and vexatious encroachments, the Electors of Mayence and Treves in the early part of this century strongly protested. Then came on the Napoleonic wars in Germany, the effects of which we have already described.

Shortly after the peace of 1814, the Bishops of this Province had recourse to the Holy See, imploring it to induce their Governments to ameliorate the condition of their oppressed Church. The States in question had about the year 1818, passed a series of resolutions most oppressive to Religion, and which, at a later period, His Holiness Pope Pius VIII, in a Bull addressed to all the Bishops of the Upper-Rhenish Province, characterized as containing errors and innovations at direct variance with the doctrine and constitution of the Catholic Church,

“and whereby,” to use his own words, “that Church was subjected to the most lamentable and most ignominious servitude.”

A Concordat was concluded between the Holy See and these Governments. By the Bull *Provida Solersque*, issued by Pope Pius VII. on the 16th August, 1821, and the articles whereof have been confirmed and developed by the Bull, *Ad Dominici Gregis custodiam*, which Pope Leo XII. delivered on 11th April, 1827, it is provided, first, that in conformity with the desires of the above-named States, the Bishoprics of Freyburg, Rottenburg, and Limburg should be erected, and those of Mayence and Fulda undergo new circumscriptions; secondly, that with respect to the elections of bishops, canons, and vicars of cathedrals, the right of excluding the *personæ minus græte* from the list of candidates should be conceded to the sovereigns; and thirdly, that in all other respects, the rights appertaining to the Church, and more especially the episcopal jurisdiction belonging to bishops by the existing Canon Law, were claimed and defended by the Pope.

The laws, therefore, determining the legal relations of the Catholic Church in the Upper-Rhenish ecclesiastical Province are as follows:—firstly, the Canon Law, as it has ever existed in the times of the German Empire, as it was guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia, and upheld by the organic Decree of the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon in 1803.

Secondly, the solemn stipulations laid down in the Bulls *Provida Solersque* and *Ad Dominici gregis custodiam*.

We shall now proceed to describe the persecution exercised against the Catholic Church by one of these Governments, that of Baden. In doing so, we shall avail ourselves of much of the information contained in the able pamphlet, that stands second at the head of our article: “*Das Recht der Kirche im Badischen Kirchen-streit.*”

The ecclesiastical Commission (Ober-Kirchenrath),\* which was the instrument of the Baden Government for

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\* This properly means, Superior ecclesiastical council; but as this term might be misunderstood, and as it was a Board entirely dependant on the civil power, we have preferred the title, “Ecclesiastical Commission.”

persecuting the Catholic Church, was composed exclusively of Catholics, and among them, two ecclesiastics. What sort of Catholics these must be, the reader will soon be able to judge for himself. This Commission impeded the Archbishop in the exercise and enjoyment of all those rights, which in common with the Suffragans of his Province, he had claimed in his Memorial of March 1851, and which he has vindicated in the second Memorial of 18th June, 1853. Of this we have already had occasion to speak.

With respect to the first point in litigation, the nomination to vacant benefices, the Archbishop of Freyburg declared he would respect the appointments of the Government, when it could show a clear canonical title to the right of presentation. Acting, however, in a spirit of peace, he was disposed to recognize all the uncanonical appointments of the Government up to March 1853, but after that normal year he was determined to enforce his own canonical rights. To this effect he addressed a letter to the Commissioners, calling on them to obey the mandate of their ecclesiastical superior.\* To this episcopal letter the Commissioners in substance replied, that it was the duty of every subject, and still more of the public functionary, to obey the laws of the land. They would lament any collision between their ecclesiastical and civil rulers; but they could not doubt which of the two was entitled to their obedience, since the Archbishop himself was subject to the laws of his country, and had once implicitly obeyed ordinances of the same nature with those now impugned.†

Thereupon the Archbishop made the Commissioners a most dignified reply, intimating his astonishment that they should venture to give their ecclesiastical superior lessons as to the fulfilment of his duties to the Government—and when in a recent and most critical period, he had evinced the most steadfast, uncompromising loyalty. He said the maxims laid down in the letter of the Commissioners, struck at the very root of Catholicity, would have prevented the propagation of the Gospel, and cast a stigma

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\* Document I. Letter of the Archbishop of Freyburg to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 10th of June, 1853. *Das Recht der Kirche*, p. 44.

† Document II. Reply of the Ober-Kirchenrath, Carlsruhe. 14th June, 1853.

on those heroes, who have vindicated the rights and liberties of the Church against the encroachments of the secular power. Obedience, he declared, was due by him as well as every subject in things temporal only, and not in things spiritual, over which the State was attempting to usurp a control. He added, that the question of appointment to benefices was a purely ecclesiastical matter to be determined solely by the Canon Law, and called on the Commissioners to represent to the Grand Duke that they could not without grievous sin lend themselves to the execution of measures, leading to the overthrow of all episcopal jurisdiction. He subjoined, that although through the pressure of the times, and in order to avoid greater evils, the prelates had not enforced the Canons of the Church, they had never formally renounced their rights; and they were now resolved to exercise them, the more so as in Prussia, the bishops were in the full enjoyment of their spiritual independence.

He concluded by calling on the Commissioners to discharge their obligations to the Church, and not force him to resort to measures that would afflict his paternal heart.\*

Thereupon the Commissioners answered, that the charge of disloyalty they repelled with indignation, especially as they were not responsible to the Archbishop for their official behaviour. They did not feel themselves called upon to enter into an enquiry as to the principles which should determine the relations between Church and State, but could not forbear remarking that no Government would permit the limits between spiritual and temporal power to be fixed exclusively by the ecclesiastical functionaries.

It must next be a matter of astonishment, that the Archbishop, instead of applying to the Head of the State, who issues and abrogates laws and ordinances, should not only provoke to disobedience the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, who, by virtue of their office have to enforce existing laws; but even threaten them with ecclesiastical penalties, in case they continue to follow them; although in regard to their sovereign, they but thereby fulfil their duty, and in respect to the Church,

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\* Document III. Letter of the Archbishop of Freyburg, 24th June, 1853.

do nothing more than what the Archbishop himself did a short time ago, though he held no civil office to bind them, as they were bound.\*

To this the Archbishop replied: If the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission chose to refer to themselves, what he had said about disloyalty shown to the Government at the period of the Revolution, it was their own affair. The Archbishop had not accused them; but only wished to point out to them the way, whereby they could elude an *apparent* collision of duty.

There was no question of investigating any principles as to the relations of the Church to the State, but as to the rights which appertain to the Church by her constitution, and are guaranteed in public treaties.

The question is not about any one-sided fixing of the limits between the two powers, but about the exercise of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which the state is not competent to restrict or to prevent, since it has once for all recognized and guaranteed the Catholic Church in her independence. On the contrary, the one-sided fixing of these limits is committed by the civil power, when, not respecting the rights of the Church, it makes the so-called plenitude of sovereign authority the sole and exclusive standard of its acts, and even after a compact concluded between it and the Holy See issues *one-sided* ordinances, which run directly counter to that compact, and against which the other contracting party—the Sovereign Pontiff—has put forth the most decided protest.

The members of the Ecclesiastical Commission allege in their own excuse, that they have only to enforce existing ordinances. But here precisely it is afflicting to see, that as Catholics, they *enforce* ordinances against which the Episcopate protests, and whereof long ago the Head of the Church has said, that they are contrary to the doctrine and the constitution of the Church; that they remain in a position, whereby they *de facto* deny the hierarchical constitution of the Church, and contribute on their part to *protestantize* it; whereby they exercise the most essential rights of the Bishop, nay, exalt themselves above their chief pastor.

Not to disobedience to their sovereign and the laws of

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\* Document IV. Letter of the Ecclesiastical Commission to the Archbishop, dated Carlsruhe, 1st of July, 1853.

the State, has the Archbishop provoked the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission ; but he has invited them only to make a petition to the sovereign, that he should be just towards the Catholic Church. But even this loyal course they are unwilling to pursue.

This resistance must inflict the greatest pain on the heart of the Archbishop ; and if he does not immediately enforce against them those measures of severity, which those, who will not hear the Church, provoke ; it is in the hope, the second Memorial that the Bishops of the Upper-Rhenish Province are about to publish, will bring them to a sense of their duty.\*

To this letter of the Archbishop, the Ecclesiastical Commission made no answer. In consequence the Archbishop sent another letter, dated 5th August, 1853, expressing his desire to know what resolution the Commissioners had come to, and trusting that their reply would turn to his consolation and his joy.

The Director of the Ecclesiastical Commission, M. Prestinari, replied to the Vicar-General, Dr. Buchegger, on the 19th August, 1853, that himself and colleagues had referred to the higher authorities the two letters of the Archbishop, and therefore might forbear answering them. Yet he requested that the following considerations might be brought under the notice of the prelate. The members of the Commission must retain their views, as previously set forth by them, till their sovereign shall dismiss them from their office. Then their places must of course be filled up by other functionaries ; and if the Archbishop should wish to proceed against them also as Catholics, then must the Government at last intrust these places to Protestants.

From the episcopal letter of the 15th July, it seems it may be inferred that the Archbishop himself pays some regard to these considerations, since he requests of the Commission to make a representation to the sovereign to be just towards the Catholic Church. But this in the subordinate official position of the members of the Commission appertained as little to their office as it was even compatible with their official duties, to give the Archbishop an account, or even acquaint him with any

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\* See Document V. Letter of the Archbishop, dated Freyburg, 15th July, 1853.



representations they may have made in a high quarter. Besides, such a representation would be without influence on the further course of affairs. Hence the Archbishop would not require it of them, and still less would he proceed against them with ecclesiastical penalties, because they deem it not in their power to comply with his demand. But should these intimations not meet with the attention hoped for, so the following formal reason may be urged on the archbishop. The ecclesiastical power extends not to the Government Boards, nor to the *members* of these Boards as such; it is only *individual Catholics* who are subject to that power, in respect of the duties incumbent on them as *Catholics*. The question, therefore, naturally occurs, wherefore should only the members of the ecclesiastical Commission be called upon to present such a petition to the sovereign, and wherefore the same requisition should not be made to the other *Catholics of the diocese*.\*

Hereupon the Archbishop addressed a letter dated 6th September, 1853, to his Vicar-General, Dr. Buchegger, requesting him to represent to M. Prestinari, the chief of the ecclesiastical Commission, the following observations: It would certainly redound to the honour of the Commissioners, if they would avert from their heads the penalties formerly intimated; but this desire should be manifested by *deeds*. Such a wish, however, is belied by the very first passage of their letter, where they say that the temporal sovereign is the only authority, that has in this matter to decide. This would be true, if the office held by the Commissioners were purely political, and were not one, which rendered those invested with it opponents of ecclesiastical authority, enemies of ecclesiastical freedom, and executors of ordinances hostile to the Church. And the Bishop is not authorized to tell the faithful committed to his care, that they should not exercise such functions! When the Director of the Commission holds out the threat that the Board will be filled with Protestants; such a menace is least capable of checking the Archbishop in the fulfilment of his duty; for by such a step the horrible

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\* See Document VII. Letter of the Director of the Ecclesiastical Commission M. Prestinari to the Very Rev. Dr. Buchegger, Vicar General and Canon at Freyburg, dated Carlsruhe, 19th August, 1853.



scandal would be set aside, that even *Catholics* lend themselves to the enslavement of their Church. Then there could be no question of a *Catholic* ecclesiastical Commission; then it would be manifest to the world, that the civil government alone had usurped possession of episcopal rights. Then no doubt could any longer prevail, that the present system of ecclesiastical government by the State led to the *protestantizing* of the Catholic Church. The thing menaced, therefore, would turn out quite to the interest of the Church. Moreover, no reason can be given why a subordinate functionary of the State may not request his sovereign to dismiss him from functions incompatible with his conscience and his duties as a Catholic Christian. Such a prayer would but attest his conscientiousness. The members of the ecclesiastical Commission declare it to be contrary to their duty to give to their archbishop an account, or even information respecting the representations they have made in a high quarter. But while they—priests and laymen—would fain control their archbishop lest he should undertake anything dangerous to the state, the archbishop must be utterly indifferent whether *his inferiors*, (and such the ecclesiastical Commissioners are and remain, so long as they be Catholics,) satisfy the just demands of the Episcopate. Such a position in Catholic Christians is a crying abuse. That a representation made to the Government by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, would have no influence on the course of this business is not to be credited. For if the Commission has hitherto exerted an injurious influence on the Church, it might now by a statement of the truth exercise a salutary one. To exert any ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a Government Board, or any of its members *as such*, has never occurred to the archbishop, but only on *Catholics*, and in respect of the duties, too, which were incumbent on them as Catholics. Now it is the plain duty of every Catholic to hear the teaching Church, the Pope, and the Bishops, and to believe that the Holy Ghost hath instituted Bishops, and not temporal princes, to rule the Church of God.

All exhortations and remonstrances made to these Commissioners on the part of the Archbishop and his Vicar-General having proved fruitless, the prelate resolved to expel from the Church these refractory members. Instead of obeying their spiritual superior they had re-

course to the temporal power. The Government sent the Counsellor of State, M. Von Stengel, to employ every threat with the Archbishop in order to deter him from the discharge of his duty. These menaces failing to shake in the least degree the apostolic firmness of the aged prelate, M. Von Stengel requested a delay of fourteen days, before the sentence of excommunication should be promulgated. This respite the Government employed for passing the ordinance of the 7th November, 1853, whereby the episcopal rights of the Archbishop were virtually suspended; for no act of jurisdiction could he exercise without the approbation of a special lay Commissary, called Charles Burger.

On the expiration of the fourteen days, the sentence of Excommunicatio Major against the eight ecclesiastical Commissioners, was by order of the Archbishop promulgated on the 7th November, 1853, in the Cathedral of Freyburg, and in the parish church of Carlsruhe. On the same day the sentence of Excommunicatio Major was also promulgated against the civil Commissary, Charles Burger.

Thus did the venerable Archbishop of Freyburg exhaust every measure of conciliation, before he proceeded to excommunicate these unworthy members of the Catholic Church. Nothing can exceed the wisdom—the gravity—the Apostolic firmness of the Pastoral, which this excellent Prelate, now in his eighty-first year, issued on this occasion. We can spare but one extract.

“These three acts,” says he, “the purely personal and pastoral condemnation of the members of the ecclesiastical Commission—the appointment to the above-mentioned curacy\*—and the examination of the seminarists—all things purely ecclesiastic, permitted by that very independence which the Constitution of the country accords to the Church, and to which in all countries of the world bishops possess an undisputed right, the Grand-Ducal Ministry has chosen to regard and treat as encroachments on the rights of the sovereign. This Ministry in the week before last sent one of its members to confer first with ourselves in private, then in an Assembly held with us and our Chapter, called upon us under threats to revoke our aforesaid Acts as actions of disobedience to the laws of the land, and to submit without reserve to the ecclesiastical law of the state, as it exists *de facto*. But our holy Church

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\* That at Constance.

teaches us the obligation of obeying legitimate Powers only in things permitted. The Christian must not obey the civil Power, when it commands anything unlawful in itself, for the simple reason that such is forbidden by God; *we must obey God rather than men*. Hence, as our duty dictated, we repelled this demand, and our venerable Chapter, as was to be expected from it, has stood by its bishop. We have, in a special address to the Ministry dated the 4th of this month, (November, 1853,) expressed our firm resolution to guard the rights of the Church.

"But now something incredible, and perfectly unique in the whole history of the Church was to take place! By a ministerial Ordinance of the 7th of this month, announced in the Government Gazette, We, the Bishop of a million of the Faithful, and the Metropolitan of an extensive ecclesiastical province, were de facto suspended from the spiritual government of the archbishopric committed to us by God. The government of this, to us so precious portion of the Church, must according to the ordinance of the Ministry be carried on by a subordinate police-functionary, without whose approbation, We, the Archbishop and our officials can perform no official act, nor issue any ordinance to the faithful. And this functionary, who is baptized in the Catholic Church has accepted this commission, and provokes her to chastise him.

"Oh! may we not exclaim with a great Confessor of recent times, 'Thank God! the turn of violence is come!' But what is inflicted on us is not open violence,—this violence has something to command respect; but here one would fain make the Church and her head pastor—we fear not to use the expression—*dumb*.

"By this ordinance it has been attempted to detach our spiritual sons from us, their spiritual father: they have been flattered, but at the same time their honour has been wounded, as their presumed disobedience has been extolled, and temporal advantage promised to them.

"It has been attempted by measures of police to separate us the divinely-ordained pastor from our flock. Without any ground whatsoever, ecclesiastical obedience and the open profession of it has been likened to a disturbance of the public peace. All the faithful who are prepared to undertake the defence of the rights of the Church, are menaced with penalties as in the time of warfare. In a country, where by the Constitution liberty of the press is established, all presses have been confiscated, that they might print nothing from us in defence of the Church's rights. Faithful Catholic priests have been threatened with measures of police, and impunity promised to those who should violate their duty.

"Thus to all former violences has been added the extremest dishonour to the Church! Nay, the last steps of those state-canonists manifest to every one, what plan they pursue against the Church of God; they reveal the final term on that frightful field, where the Church can neither live nor die.

"Now will the public judgment of those who still have faith, and of those who love righteousness, be clear. This portion of God's heritage hath, indeed, long been a scandal to the righteous; but now it stands revealed before the eyes of the whole world.

"We, O beloved priests and faithful children, are now given for a spectacle to angels and to men. Let us in this our trying situation be all worthy of our mother, the holy Church. Let us be devoted to God, willing to offer sacrifice, obedient after the example of Him, who was obedient unto death, and even the death of the cross. But may Almighty God grant us the strength, that we may be unto you an encouraging example, true to the cry: 'For righteousness struggle with all the power of thy soul, and strive even unto death for righteousness. And God will subdue thy foes for thee.'"—Volk's-Halle, 22 November, 1853.

Now began the work of religious persecution. An ordinance was promulgated by the Grand-Duke, inflicting the penalty of imprisonment on every ecclesiastic, who should read to the people this pastoral, or the sentence of excommunication against the Church-Commission, or on any layman who should dare co-operate in the publication thereof. The Chapter, as we see, rallied round the intrepid prelate, cordially acted with him in his resistance to the usurpations of the state, and has shared all his labours, trials, and persecutions. With five or six exceptions, the parochial clergy, we are happy to say, have remained true to their archbishop and the cause of ecclesiastical freedom. A touching instance is recorded of a blind priest, who from the lips of his aged mother learned by rote the archbishop's pastoral, and then mounted the pulpit, and repeated its contents to his congregation. The pay of the Archbishop and of the Chapter was withheld by the Government. The priests, who had been guilty only of reading the incriminated Pastoral, were sometimes on leaving the Church, publicly and brutally seized by the police, and dragged to prison. Some parishes were bereft of their only pastor, and in consequence, was the celebration of the Divine Mysteries suspended. In other districts the people surrounded the prisons, where their priests were incarcerated, and loudly demanded their liberation. Other parishes addressed to the government petitions and remonstrances, which it was compelled to attend to.

The laity, as well as the clergy, have of late been marked out for persecution. One of the cabinet ministers, a relative of the excellent Catholic, Baron von Andlau—

disgusted with the intolerant policy of the government, has tendered his resignation. Various public functionaries who would not lend themselves as instruments to the tyrannical measures of the Court, were either deprived of their places, or transported to others of inferior dignity. This infatuated government, which has all along evinced such weakness and irresolution towards the democrats and the socialists, has had the incredible folly, as well as meanness, to persecute the hawkers and vendors of Catholic publications.\*

The Archbishop, true to his apostolic character, has exhorted his diocesans to remain peaceful and loyal to the Government, and, instead of gathering together in tumultuous meetings, to assemble in the House of God at stated times, in order to offer up prayers for the persecuted Church.

The Government, fearful of the effects which the incarceration of the clergy would have on their people, has of late resorted to the system of fines. This profligate Cabinet little calculated on the energetic opposition it has encountered in the Catholic population. It naturally conceived that the systematic corruption, which more than any other German court it had for the last fifty years resorted to in order to debauch the faith and morality of its subjects, would have rendered them not only passive spectators, but ready instruments of its irreligious tyranny. It had hoped its Erastian views would be carried out by a clergy as anti-papal and anti-celibate as that of 1830, which had called down the censures of Pope Gregory XVI., and had overlooked the process of internal regeneration which it had been passing through. It had forgotten that the population had felt the great Catholic Movement of 1837, which had pervaded all Germany; that it had been disgusted with the miserable schism of Ronge, had cruelly suffered from the Socialist revolution of 1848, and been edified and consoled by the Jesuit Missions of 1850. The present persecution, which would have been most perilous in Baden twenty years ago, can now tend only to consolidate and diffuse the faith; and the triumph of the Church in that country—prepared as it has been by preceding events, will now be consum-

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\* See Volk's-Halle for December 1853.

mated. Already the other Governments of the Upper-Rhine, appalled by the noble attitude of the Baden clergy and people, have shrunk from invading the sanctuary, and enforcing those measures of oppression against the Church, which they embodied in their Resolutions of March 1853. Who doth not see the finger of God in all these events?\*

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ART. II.—1. *Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica*. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stephenson. Londini: 1838.

2. *Bedæ Opera Omnia*. By the Rev. J. A. Giles, D. C. C., late Fellow of C. C. C., Oxford. Whittaker and Co. 1843.

3. *Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Cura Roberti Hussey, B. D. Hist. Ecclesiast. Prof. 1846.

4. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. Bohn's Antiquarian Library. 1847.

**T**HE year 680 is one of the most memorable in the earlier ecclesiastical annals of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. In that year the great St. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided in the National Council of Hatfield, in which the voice of the Hierarchy of the Heptarchy was, for the first, and we believe the only time, synodically expressed upon matters of Catholic faith; the Prelates proclaimed their adhesion to the doctrines of the five first General Councils, and subscribed the decisions of a synod in Rome, under Pope Martin, condemnatory of the heresy of the Monothelites. In this year also, St. Wilfrid, recently restored to his See of York, sat as the representative of the Angles, Britons, Scots and Picts, in a council assembled by Pope Agatho in Rome, preparatory to the holding of the sixth General Council, the third of

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\* We had written the above when we learned by the newspapers that the Government of Baden has revoked the ordinances against the Archbishop.



Constantinople. In this year also, John, the Precentor of St. Peter's, in Rome, was employed in thoroughly and finally establishing in the Monasteries and Churches of Northumbria the complete ceremonial of Rome, and more especially that Choral Service which, after a considerable interruption, our newly created Canons are now about to resume. In this year, too, the noble Lady Hilda died, the most illustrious of Abbesses, the counsellor of Kings, the nurse of Bishops and learned men, whose name, even though it be mentioned in connection with "Lady Hilda's Snakes," is still named with veneration and affection by such as dwell on the coasts of Deira and Bernicia. In the same year also, (and we will on no account pass him over,) died Lady Hilda's "warden of the oxen," Cædmon, the prodigy of his own age, and the wonder of ours; as remarkable in his life as in his death; the first and greatest of Saxon Bards, who undoubtedly "first sung of chaos and eternal night," and revealed to Milton the hideous landscape which first met the eyes of the fallen archangel. It was in this year also, when not more than four stone-built Churches were to be seen from the Hummer to Iona, nor more books, probably, than many of our readers can number on their own shelves, that an Anglo-Saxon child, seven years old, probably an orphan, was conducted by his relatives, and consigned to the care of the Abbot of a neighbouring monastery, where he lived to be ordained Deacon at the age of nineteen, Priest at thirty, and died at about the age of threescore, leaving behind him writings which lived in the hands of men a thousand years without the aid of the press; and which, when a foreign press first threw them forth in the shape of eight folios, were found to contain evidence of masterly acquaintance, not only with the Biblical learning of the time in its highest and widest range, not only with the vast and varied literature which the Church had created in seven prolific centuries, but also with the literature, the history, the science, and the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome.

We readily believe that there is scarcely one of our readers who has not long since discovered, under this slight disguise, and perhaps slight exaggeration, that this "*clarum et venerabile nomen, et multum nostræ quod profuit urbi,*" is the name of Venerable Bede. Indeed, there is very



little disguise here at all, beyond the suppression of his name. In three or four lines we have given almost the whole of the authentic details which we possess of the life of Bede. Never, perhaps, was there so great and venerated a name linked with so brief a story. How the heart of the child may have beat when brought into the presence of Bennet Biscop, the far-travelled Thane, trained to arms in the court of the Bretwalda, now the Reverend Abbot of the Monastery; how the young cœnobite was disposed of after taking leave of his guides; his dress, his bed, his board, his school, his amusements; how soon he began to "perfect praise" by mingling his treble with the resounding choir; how soon he was set to minister at the altar, "girded in a linen ephod,"—upon such matters as these we need not wonder that both he and his contemporaries have been silent, although he himself, when he both wrote and sung of the life of St. Cuthbert, lovingly went into details quite as minute as these. But the misfortune is, they have been equally silent upon every other period of his life.

Little as we know of the schoolboy, we know no more of the modest and pious Deacon, the devout Mass-Priest, the learned and laborious Monk. Altar, choir and cell, the late and early lamp, and parchment volumes—these, and a few casual particulars scattered through his writings, (and seldom were writings more scanty of them,) are all the materials available to most enthusiastic of his admirers, wherewith to construct a biography of the Monk of Jarrow. But we have probably more cause to lament than to complain of this. The life of Bede cannot have been rich in incident. Mere literary biography was not in fashion, and even if it had been attempted, would have possessed few charms in the eyes of the men of his age, or in ours either, we suspect, unless it had been written by himself. A year or two after his death he was appropriately and expressively styled by St. Boniface "the lamp of the western Church." And what can be said of the lamp, even of the sanctuary, but that it burns and shines by day and by night, burns and shines stilly and silently consuming itself in the Sacred Presence which it proclaims? Add to this that the two matchless communities that he left behind him were dispersed, and their Monasteries spoiled by the torch and brand of barbarians before the close of the century in which he died; and thus a miserable stop

was put to greater things, probably, than a biography of Bede.

There are some who would persuade us that England has no history prior to the Great Charter, and very little indeed deserving the attention of an age like this before the rebellion of Monmouth, and the landing at Torbay. It would be very easy to show that this narrow and partisan sentiment is not universal. Some of the most elaborate works, and the predilections of some of the brightest literary names of the age, do not favour it. The "*Corpus Historicum*," sanctioned by Parliament, and intended to embody every document, and every fragment, bearing upon our early history, in every language, beginning with Herodotus, will close five or six hundred years before the days of Clarendon and Burnet, the real fathers of English history, according to this school. The fifty volumes of the "*English Historical Society*" will stop at the reign of Henry VIII., wholly confined to the field of history which lies beyond both the Revolution and the Reformation. Bohn's progressing series of the translated *Chronicles of England*, shows that some portion of the million even have leanings in the same direction. And when, to the distinguished names employed upon these noble undertakings, we add those of Thorpe, Palgrave, Hallam, Wright, and Kemble, as well as a list of congenial names in France and Germany — Lappenberg, Pauli, Thierry, Guizot—we shall have shown that there is an amount of interest and curiosity, in our age, regarding Anglo-Saxon life and literature, which is not likely to be wholly absorbed by the reign of William of Orange, and his immediate successors. The humble list, at the head of our article, not complete, of the *Ecclesiastical History of Venerable Bede*, which scarcely covers the period of the Bretwaldas, sufficiently proves that, in common with every other nation, Englishmen have a keen and curious, if not a very affectionate interest, in looking back to the early development of that spirit, and the very first germination of those institutions, which the Anglo-Saxon race is now so resolutely diffusing and planting, wherever there is room for diffusion and planting, on the face of the globe.

However, it is not our purpose at present to state what amount of claim either the history or the literature of those early times may have upon our generation; our object is a much more humble one; we merely purpose,

preparatory to an early notice of the "*Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," more especially the works of Bede, (now, strange to say, published for the first time in England,) to put before our readers a few remarks chiefly connected with Bede, which have occurred to us on looking over and comparing the editions of his history before us.

We are sorry to say that we cannot pass any high commendations upon that of Dr. Giles. Since it will again come under our notice as forming the first three volumes of Venerable Bede's works, we will merely say that it is preceded by one hundred and fifty pages of prefatory matter of no great value, is wholly without note or comment, and is distinguished by a peculiarity of very questionable taste, an English translation on the dexter page confronting the Latin of the original.

Bohn's Edition, also edited by Dr. Giles, is a much preferable volume; it contains, besides the History, a translation of the Saxon Chronicle, elucidated by brief historical notes, and is prefaced by a life or rather eulogium of Bede, written by Dr. Giles, and written with a sincerity of veneration and scholarlike enthusiasm for which we render him hearty thanks.

By far the best edition which we are acquainted with in one volume is that of Mr. Hussey. It contains besides the history, the interesting Lives of the Abbots, the noble and apostolic Epistle, addressed by Ven. Bede the year before his death, to Egbert, Bishop of York, and the letter of St. Boniface to Cuthbert, a document of great importance in the Ecclesiastical History of this period. It contains, too, the valuable notes, (but not the appendices) of Smith, with a large addition of his own, distinguished for judgment, accuracy, and research, frequently corrective both of Smith and subsequent editors. In our opinion, Mr. Hussey deals with the obscurities of the history, and they are not few, in a more satisfactory manner than any previous editor.

But the first edition in point of time, and if taken with "*Opera Minora*," which forms the second volume, the first in value also, is undoubtedly that of Mr. Stephenson. The supplementary documents collected in the second volume are both extensive and of great value, selected with liberal judgment, often difficult of access, at least one of them, "*Lives of the Abbots*, by an anonymous writer," now for the first time printed, and all of them

necessary almost for the elucidation of the period over which the History extends. The notes are not very numerous, are very brief, (sometimes more brief than satisfactory,) and seldom enter into discussion. He has adopted very judiciously, considering the field before him, the curt, pointed, and compendious style of annotation, in which it is now the fashion to illustrate the ancient classics; but he is apt merely to point out a difficulty, and pass on with a reference to some extraneous source of solution. He has rendered welcome service by giving some account, in very few words, of the more obscure personages that we meet with in the History, and has paid great attention to chronology. This edition also, is prefaced with a brief biography of Bede, an analysis of the history, and an interesting account extracted from Bede, of the documents and sources of information of which he availed himself in the composition of his History. For these reasons, and also because it stands at the head of the noble series, published by the Historical Society, for which Mr. Stephenson is the Editor, this is the edition which will undoubtedly be chiefly consulted by historical and critical writers hereafter, and the one to which we shall principally refer in the course of our observations.

It was not to be expected, that even by an elaborate investigator, much either of consequence or novelty could now be brought to light in connection with the life of Ven. Bede; but there is one discovery for which we are indebted to Mr. Stephenson, which he conceives to have been made under happy auspices, and upon which he plumes himself with a complacency quite, we think, up to the mark of his merits. The question it raises is one, we admit, rather of interest than importance; but it occupies conspicuous space in Mr. Stephenson's preface, and gave rise to a controversy which we venture to think has rather been reopened than closed by the opinion pronounced upon it by a writer, as our readers will find, of illustrious name.

It is no longer a question whether Venerable Bede ever visited Rome or not. The affirmative, for reasons easily assignable, has been abandoned; but whether or not he was ever summoned to Rome, and that in terms highly complimentary to himself, we take leave to consider as still an open question. William of Malmesbury, cautiously

and expressly declining to answer for the fact of the *visit*, says there can be no doubt whatever about that of the *invitation*; and thereupon transcribes a letter of Pope Sergius to Ceolfrith, Abbot of Jarrow, in which, after stating that he had matters on hand which required the assistance of men of learning and research, he charges him to lose no time in sending "*religiosum Dei nostri famulum Bedam, Venerabilis tui monasterii presbyterum, ad veneranda limina Apostolorum.*" This we suppose would have been decisive of the question if it had not contained an anachronism. Bede was not a priest at the date of this letter, 701, nor till two years after. This difficulty has given rise to much home and foreign controversy; some writers pronouncing the whole letter to be a palpable forgery; others content with surmising interpolation; others endeavouring, but in vain, to reconcile it with opposing facts that cannot be disputed. Mr. Stephenson is confident that it has been reserved for him, after the lapse of seven centuries, not only to demonstrate the interpolation, but to drag to light the interpolator. Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, he has met with a copy of Pope Sergius's letter, which he supposes to belong to the early part of the eleventh century, and which contains neither of the words *Bedam* nor *Presbyterum*, but runs thus, "*religiosum Dei nostri famulum venerabilis tui monasterii ad limina Apostolorum,*" &c. We will place before the reader Mr. Stephenson's reasoning and inferences upon this fortunate discovery.

"The volume" (containing the Cottonian MS.) "was written in the early part of the eleventh century, and is therefore much earlier," (say a century) "and of better authority than *Malmesbury*."

"It appears, therefore, that *Malmesbury* having met with a letter in which the Pope requested Ceolfrith to send *one of his monks to Rome*, concluded that Beda must have been that individual, and without attending to the chronological difficulties which attend such a supposition most unjustifiably *inserted* Beda's name in the text, and also designated him as 'presbyter,' which rank, as we have seen, he did not attain until some time after the death of Sergius. Thus arose the error respecting Beda's mission to Rome, which, after a lapse of seven centuries,

we are now able satisfactorily to dissipate."—Intro. to H. E. pp. 12.-13.

Now we cannot consent to admit this as a successful specimen of historical criticism. Making fair allowance for a little elation of spirits, on so interesting a discovery, it savours too much of the prejudice, much mitigated in our age among scholars of his class, that the monastic writers were all incurably addicted to habits of forgery, and that when a difficulty occurs, it is quite a legitimate mode of solution, needing no apology whatever, to resort to the mendacity of the monks. This entire letter was formerly pronounced to be a forgery. Mr. Stephenson, for the credit of his own discovery, will willingly allow that it is no such thing; and it would have been graceful in him to have acknowledged, that time and the Cottonian MS. have vindicated, so far at least, both the honesty and the judgment of Malmesbury. But Mr. Stephenson's summing up has a worse fault than this. It professes to convict Malmesbury of dishonesty, and begins with assuming it, and cannot go on a single step without assuming it. We will proceed to some more specific remarks upon it.

1. The issue is, not as it will be seen Mr. Stephenson here puts it, between the Cottonian MS. and Malmesbury *himself*, but between that copy and the copy which Malmesbury professes to *transcribe*, and which Mr. Stephenson admits he did transcribe with substantial fidelity, with the exception of the two words in dispute. The question, therefore, that arises is, which of the two copies is to be preferred—is the Cottonian MS. defective here, or was that of Malmesbury interpolated by any one—let alone by Malmesbury. Mr. Stephenson prefers his own, which he conceives to be of the eleventh century. The conjectured age of the MS. is of small consequence in this instance, since it is still placed at the distance of 300 years from the date of the original letter—a period long enough to account for defects and omissions as well as interpolations. But what was the age of Malmesbury's copy? It could not well be later than the eleventh century, and may, for aught we know, have been two or even three centuries earlier.

2. "It appears," says Mr. S., "that Malmesbury met with a copy without a name, and most unjustifiably inserted that of Beda." But how or whence does this appear? The very reverse appears to us; viz., that he met with a



letter which *contained* the name, and transcribed it; and this because he says so. Surely the mere existence of a MS. without a name does not disprove his assertion. Or is it maintained that Malmesbury must necessarily have written from this very copy now in the British Museum, or even from one exactly conformable to it? But this again is assuming that that, or such copies, were the only ones afloat in the world for four hundred years. The variations which, though not affecting the substance of the letter, Mr. Stephenson marks as occurring between the texts of Malmesbury and that of the Cottonian MS., almost prove to certainty that he copied neither it, nor one conformable to it.

3. Again, if no copies had ever existed containing the name of Bede before the time of Malmesbury, how are we to account for the reports current in his time, and even before his time, which he avouches, that Bede was not only invited to Rome, but went? Did Malmesbury misrepresent and belie his own living generation to their faces, and interpolate a letter, to convince them that he told the truth? It may be so, but certainly the Cottonian MS. does not prove it.

4. But, after all, it may be said, since we are compelled to admit that the word "presbyterum" is an interpolation, inasmuch as it implies an indisputable anachronism, why not allow "Bedam," which is here found in connection with it, to be an interpolation also? Precisely because this word does *not* contain an anachronism, and is in no way necessarily tainted or implicated by its association with that alleged interpolation.

It is true that this answer may be retorted with some appearance of plausibility; viz., that "presbyterum" may possibly be the genuine reading of the letter, and that the anachronism may be occasioned by the insertion of the name of Bede; that the person summoned to Rome was, in point of fact, a Priest, and therefore could not be Bede, as well as that it was Bede, and could therefore be only a Deacon. But the reports prevalent in, and before, the days of Malmesbury, that it was Bede—Priest, or no Priest—who was summoned, is quite sufficient to cast the balance between these two arguments; and we will hereafter show that there is no parity of reasoning here. However, the reader will shortly see that this is the view, or nearly so, that Dr. Lingard takes of this question.



We beg to remind the reader that hitherto we have neither admitted nor denied that there has been interpolation, but have only contended that the discovery of the Cottonian MS. is insufficient to convict either Malmesbury, or any other person, of that guilt. We will now confess, however, that we are infinitely more inclined to pronounce this MS. defective, than we are to set aside the testimony of Malmesbury and his time, as well as other concurring evidence; and what is more, that we are led to this conclusion, among other reasons, by the text of the Cottonian MS. itself, in which the language of the Papal letter appears to us to be reduced to something very nearly bordering upon nonsense. Let the reader judge. Sergius, as we have said, charges the Abbot on no account to fail in paying prompt attention to his request; "*sed absque aliqua remoratione, religiosum Dei nostri famulum venerabilis tui monasterii, ad veneranda limina Apostolorum.....non moraris, dirigere.*" Does the reader say *content* to this? Is there nothing wanting, "no craving void left aching" here? How are we to translate the words we have underlined? "*A monk*"—"the monk"—"*a certain monk*"—of your house? None of these is admissible. In short, the words do not admit of rigorous translation. Mr. Stephenson adroitly, but we think "unjustifiably," evades the difficulty by translating "one of his monks." But even so, does this mean any one of them? That is absurd. Some particular one? But there is not a particle of specification to be found about the words. Are we to believe that his Holiness, or his secretary, writing to summon to Rome a single individual of known preeminent learning, and undoubtedly known by name, would employ mere vague and indefinite terms, and thus leave the Abbot to select a man at his pleasure, as he might do the bearer of a letter or a message from Jarrow to Wearmouth? And even if that were his meaning, it is to be presumed he would have expressed it, which he has not done. It seems to us almost *manifest*, therefore, that the Cottonian MS. is defective in this passage, and that some defining and specifying word of some description is wanting here to give to the Papal letter even common grammatical accuracy; and that word we believe to be "*Bedam*," In this opinion we are proud to be supported by, we believe, as great a name as can be quoted upon such a subject. Dr. Jaffé, author of the superb "*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*,"

(Berolini, 1851,) speaking of this letter of Sergius, and having expressed his concurrence with Dr. Giles, who pronounces the letter to be genuine, adds, in reference to the question before us, "Nec minui ejus fidem puto si, cum Malmsb., post 'famulum' addamus 'Bedam.'" So that this great ecclesiastical critic, who, we imagine, is no patronizer of interpolators and interpolations, thinks it would be not very unjustifiable, but quite safe, to add this scandalous interpolation to the text of the Cottonian MS. itself.\*

If this be not satisfactory to an advocate of Mr. Stephenson's opinion, it is certainly of a nature to check his triumph over the honesty of Malmesbury, and may lead him to suspect that the "error respecting Beda's mission to Rome, which, after a lapse of seven centuries, has been satisfactorily dissipated," is threatening to revive; and an error of this sort, that threatens to revive under the critical eye of the present age, is a dangerous one, and contains within it, it is to be feared, something of the vivaciousness of truth.

We must now turn to a new, and more interesting phase of this controversy.

Dr. Lingard, in his interesting "Miscellaneous Notes on Bede," (Ang. Sax. vol. II., p. 410, last ed.) has put forth, and seems inclined to adopt, what, as far as our acquaintance with the controversy extends, we consider to be a novel opinion; at least we are not aware that it has ever been previously patronized by any distinguished advocate.

On referring to the "Notes," it will be seen that Dr.

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\* We were not aware, when we wrote the above, that the Cottonian MS. had undergone more careful inspection by Mr. Hardy, the result of which will startle our readers, we imagine. "The words of that document," says Mr. Hardy, though it is much injured by the fire, are, in this passage, most legible. They run thus: "Religiosum Dei famulum N," (for nomen,) and the name Beda is inserted in the margin. These words have been read incorrectly, as it seems. "Dei nostri famulum."—Hardy's Ed. of Malmesbury, vol. i., p. 87. We need make no remarks upon this extract; our readers will perceive how imperfectly the condition of the MS. had been previously described, and how arbitrarily it has been dealt with. We request them to bear in mind that this *henceforth* favourite MS. of ours does *not* contain the mischievous word "presbyterum."

Lingard makes light of the Cottonian MS., has no doubt but that "Bedam" is the genuine reading of the papal letter, shrewdly guesses, (if he had not been enlightened by Giles and Hardy,) the actual condition of that MS., and frowns upon Stephenson for his charge against Malmesbury: "The character of Malmesbury," he says, "should shield him from such an imputation;" and thus proceeds to state his opinion above alluded to, viz., that the Beda of Sergius's letter is not the Beda known to us as Venerable Bede, but some other.

"It should be recollected that Beda was not a solitary name, but probably common among the Cœnobites of that age; as we read of Beda the elder, a priest, attendant on St. Cuthbert (Ap. Min. p. 20.) and the monastery of Wearmouth contained other learned men besides Beda the deacon, as appears from the character of Witmœr, one of his fellow monks. I must own that it appears to me improbable that the Beda of the letter could be our Beda; 1st, because unless we suspect the papal secretary or his Anglo-Saxon transcriber of a most glaring error, the person invited was already a priest. Yet Beda the historian was not then a priest, nor till two years after the death of Sergius; 2nd, because the person invited was one celebrated for his erudition, and it is difficult to conceive how Beda could have been honoured with such a character in Rome, at a time when he had written no book, nor given any public proof of his learning and talents. It was only after his ordination to the priesthood that he began to write by order of his bishop and of his abbot."

Our readers will have felt, in this extract, the force of that cool judgment, that lucid statement, and that inflexible adherence to his text, which constitutes so valuable and charming a characteristic of every critical remark of Dr. Lingard, and will wonder at our rashness and presumption in venturing to approach such a position so guarded. We shall attempt no apology, since none could be framed that would avail us to the extent of our necessities in such a point of view. But we know, as all our readers know, that Dr. Lingard was the last of men to take up a position with either the expectation or the wish to hold it by the mere prestige of his name. The footnotes of his own pages, "*multorum ossibus alba*," are too thickly strewn with the wreck of other men's errors and mistakes for him ever to have flattered himself that he could have navigated the broad and perilous waters over which he sailed, without once grazing either rock

or shallow. Under these impressions we will proceed to our remarks upon his two arguments.

The first, it will be seen, is *wholly* founded upon his conviction that the word "presbyterum," is the genuine reading of the papal letter; he has no doubt, any more than we have, that it was found in Malmesbury's copy, nor can any interested motive be assigned. Mr. Stephenson neither assigns nor insinuates any, which could induce him to deviate from it. But why is that copy to be preferred to all others? We recommend the reader to be on the alert, for undoubtedly we are bringing up the Cottonian in the van of an assailing party. The Cottonian MS. does not contain the word "presbyterum." It may be said that the scribe of that copy, not being able to read the *name*, left out also the *designation*, but this would be an assumption; it was his business if he were a faithful scribe, (and we think the reader has seen some proof of his conscientiousness,) to transcribe his copy as far as he could read it, and we believe that he did so, and left out the word because it was not there to copy. So that we have already *two* MSS. in our favour.

Malmesbury, we should have said before, copied into his history only parts of Sergius's letter. Usher was in possession of an *ancient* Anglo-Saxon MS. copy, containing the *entire* letter, and his MS. did not contain the word "presbyterum." We are not aware that any other copies distinct from them are in existence. So that we have here three to one against the supposition on which Dr. Lingard founds his arguments. And even if the same argumentation be applied to the copy of Malmesbury, that we have applied to the Cottonian, the result must still be in our favour.

But how account for the presence of the word in *any*, even *one* copy, if it were not contained in the original letter? We find no great difficulty here. It may very well be the innocent and very excusable *insertion* of some copyist in the long lapse of four hundred years between the time of Malmesbury and the death of Bede, when he had come to be known as Bede the priest or presbyter, as familiarly as he is now known amongst us as Venerable Bede. There would be no greater violation either of truth or propriety in this, than there is in saying that Dr. Lingard published his "Anglo-Saxon" in 1806, although he was not graced with that title till many years after.

It may be, too, that the original ran thus: "Bedam Venerabilis tui monasterii, *diaconum*," and that after the death of Bede the copyist, may have *substituted* presbyterum, for the reasons just assigned. But granting even, what we are under no obligation to do, that the word was contained in the original papal letter, may it not have been a mistake of the papal secretary? We see nothing so very outrageous in supposing that *he*, being directed to summon to Rome from a monastery, almost upon the borders of the Scots and Picts, an ecclesiastic, whose wide renown for erudition made it desirable that he should sit in council along with the most learned men of the age upon matters concerning the universal Church, (for they were no less than such,) *took it for granted* that *he* *surely* must be a priest; *surely* must have attained the sacerdotal age of twenty-seven, and consequently, with such merits as his, *must* have received the sacerdotal orders, and designated him accordingly. The mistake would be singular, but certainly does not exceed belief. Our memory does not serve us at the moment, but we think there are many similar instances on record. We do not think, therefore, that the *state of the MSS.* is such as to compel Dr. Lingard to side wholly with one against the others; especially when it is remembered that it is much more easy to account for the insertion of this word in a single MS., if it did *not* occur in the original letter, than it is to account for its *noninsertion* in two or three MSS. if it *were* there. The former might be done wholly blamelessly, the latter could hardly take place but under the influence of dishonest motive, and dishonest motive, in this instance, we believe it is impossible either to assign or divine.

We must not omit to refer our readers to the text, (p. 191) to which Dr. Lingard's "Notes" are appended, where he insists upon the age of Bede, as well as upon his mere degree of Deacon, as rendering it unlikely that Bede could be the person invited. "At that time Bede was a young man of *seven-and-twenty*, and had not been advanced to the priesthood."

This objection appears to resolve itself into the previous one; for if he had been a priest, as by the practice and precedents of the time, he might have been, it would probably not have been urged; and if the question be raised as to what age would qualify him for the invitation,

we know not how it is to be settled. As it is admitted that the person was summoned for his literary services in some way or other, we suppose, if he was learned enough, he was old enough. Dr. L. maintains and proves against Mr. S., that Bede was born in 673, and if so, at the date of the invitation 701, he was assuredly in his twenty-*eight* year, and how far advanced in it we know not. There is something remarkable in Bede's advance towards the priesthood. The canons of the time seem to require twenty-five years for deacon's orders, and five years more previous to further promotion. Bede anticipated the canonical time for the diaconate by six years; and for some unknown reason, probably to allow him more leisure as the "magister" of the monasteries, remained deacon eleven years! Mr. S. informs us that the canons respecting the age of admission to the several orders were in force at this time in England. But this can hardly be; Bede's own abbot was ordained at twenty-seven, and Easterwine abbot of Wearmouth at twenty-nine, and St. Wilfred we imagine must also have been an exception, as he is stated to have been consecrated bishop at thirty.

Neither is there, nor was there then considered to be, anything in the mere rank of deacon to disqualify for exalted and responsible office. Sigfrid of Wearmouth was elected abbot while yet in deacon's orders, and lived and died abbot and deacon. Wilfrid also was abbot of Ripon, and yet but deacon. Alcuin, who, during the latter part of his life bore an ecclesiastical burden, almost more than episcopal, and was chosen prolocutor, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, lived and died a deacon. So that we do not see what should hinder Bede from being considered, in the language of Sergius, as "*artium literatura imbutus*," and as well qualified to render literary service as a deacon of twenty-eight, as he would be when a priest at thirty. The difference of time is too slight to amount to consequence in the case of a person of Bede's character and admitted attainments at this period.

We proceed to the second argument alleged by Dr. Lingard to prove that Venerable Bede cannot have been the "Beda" of the letter.

It must be confessed, that on the supposition, (which we adopt,) that Venerable Bede was the person invited, the distinction conferred upon him, and the tribute paid to his learning, is one which, considering the circumstances, has



few parallels. The more we dwell upon it, the more it excites our wonder. It has occurred to us that the compliment may possibly have been exaggerated somewhat. It is by no means necessary that this urgent summons to Rome should be looked upon, (as we believe it often is), as a resort to Bede as a man of pre-eminent general erudition, judgment, and experience, for his assistance in the general legislation of the Church. Neither his age, nor his secluded habits, nor his residence on the extreme borders of the Church, could have specially qualified him for a seat in the papal councils in such a character. The object for which the person was summoned, did, it is true, concern the Church at large. But may not the matter in hand have been some question of limited range—some special point, then under consideration, which Bede was understood to have pre-eminently mastered, such as the computation of time and questions of chronology? The discussion of these questions in England began in his time; we know how warmly they were debated, and we see in his works to what an extent they engrossed his attention: The very first work he *published*, (“*De Temporibus*,”) the year after, possibly the year before, he was ordained priest, was upon chronology, thus showing what field he had most cultivated, or was most eager and most prepared to occupy. This is certainly not a very extensive or elaborate work, and was soon eclipsed by another on the same subject, which made him illustrious throughout the West for accurate and masterly calculation; so much so, that in the old chronicles his name is entered as “Bede the computator,” Bede, the “chronologist,” Bede, the “last of the chronologers.” We have not any special means at hand to ascertain whether or not Pope Sergius was engaged upon any such subject. It may be mere prepossession in us, but we think the language of his letter, vague as it may seem to be, appears to favour our conjecture. The person summoned was supposed to be versed in the sciences, for so we venture to translate, (“*artium liberatura imbutus*,”) the matters in hand were such as “*non sine examinatione longius innotescendis*,” were not to be further cleared up without examination or revision, and when cleared up, “*per ejus præstantiam*,” by his superior skill, he trusted would be found to be of service not only to the Church at large, (“*ecclesiæ generali*,”) but also, (“*etiam cunctis tibi creditis*,”) to the community

of Jarrow. The Monks of Jarrow were still fighting the battle of the orthodox computation. We submit this conjecture to the judgment of our readers. We have put it before them because we believe there is foundation for it, and because it reduces His Holiness's compliment, in our opinion, to more just, and in some respects, perhaps, to more admissible dimensions. However, it is not our purpose to diminish the honours conferred upon Bede, but in proportion as they are unprecedented, we are unwilling to see them stripped from the venerable man who has worn them so modestly and so long. Be the tribute whatever it may, our readers we doubt not, will agree that it was merited, it is our belief that it was *paid*.

We cannot help thinking that Dr. Lingard lays too much stress on Bede's defect of reputation as an author at this period, when he pronounces it fatal to his claims to be the Bede of Sergius. We do not conceive it was necessary that he should have been known as an author. All that was necessary to account for the invitation, and to justify it too, was, that the person sent for, was supposed by the parties concerned, to be qualified to forward the object for which he was wanted; and we have no difficulty in believing that Bede, at this period, was both supposed and known to be so qualified. The young priest who, at the age of thirty, was prepared at the bidding of his abbot and bishop to begin the series of works which placed him at the head of the scholars of Christendom, and at three-score, wrote the delicious line, "*semper discere, semper docere, semper scribere dulce habui*," must have borne his faculties meekly indeed if he was not known, at least to his own community, to deserve a distinguished place amongst the scholars of his country, even while he yet wore the deacon's stole. Dr. Lingard himself, at much about the same period of life, though he may not have given promise of the magnificent things which he lived to accomplish, was hailed as the brightest hope of the Church's chivalry in England, before he had sent a line to the press.

But if want of reputation as an author, at that period, militate against the claims of Bede, although he proved himself so fraught with erudition when he did begin his career as an author, it must certainly be allowed to be utterly fatal to any other Bede on record, since none of that name, either then or at any other period, is known to

have been an author at all. We hardly see the pertinence of Dr. Lingard's reference to Beda the elder and Witmær, unless it be to shew that there were learned men in both monasteries; which of course is not questioned. But Beda the elder was of Lindisfarne, and Witmær of Wearmouth. The Beda of Sergius was a subject of Ceolfrid's, a monk of Jarrow.

But granting, it may be said, that Bede's erudition was well known at home, it will still remain to be shown that its fame could have travelled to Rome at this period. With submission to the reader, we conceive that this is already done. Dr. Lingard allows that the name of the learned person whom Sergius directed to be sent to him was Beda, and a monk of Jarrow. It is plain, therefore, that the fame of *some* Beda *had* travelled to Rome, and that the same was a monk of Jarrow. Was there then at Jarrow, or even at Wearmouth, another monk of that name, who had attained to Roman fame, and yet was never heard of either then, before or since? There can scarcely be a stronger instance than this of that defect of public reputation, which Dr. Lingard exacts in the case of Venerable Bede, but so easily dispenses with in the case of the unknown."

Nor will it be difficult to shew *how* Bede's reputation *might* be, and probably was, conveyed to Rome at this period.

For this purpose we will not insist upon that flocking to Rome of Anglo-Saxons of all degrees, kings, clergy, monks, and religious ladies, which soon became matter of serious complaint as regards the last named class; nor upon the intimate acquaintance of Bede and St. Wilfred, who was so familiar at Rome, and the next to Bede himself, perhaps, in ecclesiastical learning, of all the English scholars of the time; nor upon Albinus, the Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury, who knew Bede so well, that he was the first to single him out, passing over both his own and every other monastery, as the fittest man to write the "*Ecclesiastical History of the Angles*," whom Bede, in his preface, calls the "*auctor et adiutor opusculi*," his most active purveyor both of written and unwritten materials for his use, and who, as King Alfred suspends his translation to tell us, was "*a man far-travelled and learned*;" nor upon John, a Priest and bosom friend of Bede's, to whom, on his departure for

Rome, he made a present of his versified Life of St. Cuthbert, *to take with him to Rome*, several years before the invitation of Sergius. Any of these, or at least all of them, are quite sufficient to constitute a channel of communication by which the reputation of Bede may have been conveyed to Rome. But we will ask our readers to follow with us some other journeyers to Rome about this period. Bede informs us, that towards the close of the pontificate of Sergius, Ceolfred sent a deputation of his monks to Rome, that at the head of the deputation was Huetbert, afterwards Abbot; that the object of the deputation was to obtain from Sergius a grant for Jarrow of the same immunities as had been conferred by a preceding pontiff upon Wearmouth; that they spent a considerable time, probably a year, in Rome, transcribing documents, collecting books, and gathering whatever information they could, to bring home to their monastery; that on their return they were the bearers of two letters; the one a favourable reply to their Abbot's supplication, which reply, Bede informs us with great emphasis, was read and confirmed by the King in a synod of Bishops; the other, *the letter before us*, directing "Beda" to be sent forthwith to Rome; which letter Bede has nowhere alluded to—a silence which savours of invidiousness if the compliment it contained were paid to one of his brother monks, but extremely characteristic of his modesty if paid to himself. They arrived in Rome some time in the year 700, and left some time in the following year. Sergius died in September of that year. So that, as Dr. Lingard observes, the intelligence of his death possibly might, probably would, reach Jarrow as soon as the returning monks. "At all events," he adds, "the death of the inviter explains the cause why no use was made of the invitation." This, we hope, is a sufficiently accurate condensation, so far as it concerns our purpose, of one of Dr. Lingard's beautiful historical inductions, which the reader will find in the "Notes" referred to, and in the text.

And now, reverting for a moment to Mr. Stephenson and his translation; "*one of his monks*;"—does he still suppose that Sergius wrote to the Abbot for one of his monks, at a time when he had had a whole troop of Jarrow monks about him for a whole year, transcribing documents, rummaging his libraries, and possibly making their way to

the papal regesta?\*" He did want "*one of his monks,*" but it is clear that none of the deputation would serve his purpose; and before they left Rome he would give them a letter to say who it was that he did want.

Venerable Bede has borne honourable testimony to the literary attainments of his pupil Huetbert, the head of the deputation, and as one of their objects appears to have been to augment the literary treasures of their monastery, it is natural to suppose that at least some of his companions would be men of more or less congenial character and tastes. Now, is there any thing unreasonable in supposing—nay, can we help believing, that during their long stay in Rome, in their conversations with the librarians and literary men of Rome, these Saxon monks would gratefully tell of the flame for study which Theodore and Adrian had enkindled in England, what a succession of scholars they had left behind them, how every visitor to

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\* For this assertion we had no authority, at the time we wrote, beyond the particulars supplied by Bede's Preface; we have since met with additional proof of it, attended with interesting circumstances. Soon after the death of Bede, St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, ignorant of the precise discipline regarding the marriage of relatives, as laid down by St. Gregory the Great, for the Anglo-Saxon Church, applied to Rome for the queries of St. Augustine upon that subject, and St. Gregory's answers, and was informed by the Librarian that they were *found missing*. He then applied to Nothelm, who had just been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and who was probably the purloiner of them; for Bede, in his preface, informs us that Nothelm, while yet a Priest, and on a visit to Rome, "having, *with the leave* of the reigning Pope, Gregory, searched the archives of the holy Roman Church, found there *certain epistles* of the blessed Pope Gregory, and other Pontiffs, on his return to England, by the advice of the Reverend Father Albinus, brought them to me, to be inserted in my history." We find no trace of the Archbishop's reply; but he does not appear to have informed St. Boniface of the state of the case; for six years after this, (if the date of the letter be correct,) St. Boniface, writing to Egbert, now Archbishop of York, sends him copies of these very letters, which he says, "I have received from the archives of the Roman Church. I never dreamt they had come to Britain," (*quæ non rebar ad Britanniam venisse.*) So that it appears probable that Ven. Bede had the original letters before him to transcribe into his history; and that the Archbishop, instead of sending them, or copies of them, to St. Boniface, sent them direct to Rome, from whence they were despatched to Mentz.

Rome was expected to return laden with books, but that there was *one* brother of theirs in Jarrow, who would give something to be there with them in the midst of the accumulated treasures of the literary world, whose whole soul, not St. Jerome's more, was devoted to ecclesiastical learning, "*qui semper discere, semper docere, semper scribere dulce habebat,*" and who would one day shine among the scholars of England, "*velut inter ignes luna minores?*" We willingly allow that this is not pure history, but rather a free dip into the philosophy of history, and that our readers are quite at liberty to decline to follow us. But we do contend that it does not either violently stretch or exceed the possibilities or even probabilities of the case, and that it does point out a way by which Bede's reputation *might have* travelled to Rome at this period; indeed, a way by which all that was known of his preeminent erudition at home, might also be known at Rome.

Neither ought we to overlook the fact of the extraordinary attention paid by Pope Sergius, during the whole of his Pontificate, to the affairs of England. Among the documents entered in the Pontifical "*Regesta*," that we have alluded to, as coming from the hand of Sergius, there is but one alone which does not concern the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon Church; so that in his interviews with the Jarrow monks, we think it highly probable that the pontiff would prompt, and even exact much more specific details regarding the condition of their monastery, and the character of its inmates, than we have ventured to put into the mouths of the deputation. For instance, we think it very likely he would enquire what could possess those Scottish monks in their neighbourhood to adhere so stupidly to their old exploded Jewish and Egyptian cycles, and not fall in with the rest of the Church in celebrating Easter, &c. At all events, looking at these opportunities which Sergius had of knowing and hearing whatever he would upon these matters, and bearing in mind the fact that he did know, and had heard of some Bede of Jarrow's reputation, to be at a loss to know how he could either hear or know of the reputation of Venerable Bede, monk of Jarrow, looks to us like hesitation misplaced; and we cannot but think that Dr. Lingard in yielding to it, was overtaken with a little critical scrupulosity in this instance, rather than oppressed by reasonable perplexity, and thus threw the weight of his name into the wrong scale.



There are many other points in the history of Bede, to which, if space permitted, we should be glad to allude. The time and the place of his birth, for instance, are questions upon which much obscurity still rests, and which may still afford a wide field of enquiry to his biographers. Critics of a high order are much at variance respecting the year of his birth. Mr. Stephenson, unduly influenced by the reasoning of Pagi, assigns it to the year 674. We cannot see how this can be correct. Bede shuts up his History at the year 731, probably at the commencement of that year, as one of the last events which he records is the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which occurred in 731, January 13th. Bede himself says he was then in the 59th year of his age. It seems manifest therefore, and beyond the reach of reasoning to affect it, that a person who was in his 59th year in 731, must have been born before 674. He cannot have been born later than 673.

As to the second question, there was formerly a prevalent local tradition, for which, however, there appears to be no good foundation, that Bede was born at Jarrow, or the immediate neighbourhood. This was much disturbed on the first appearance of Dr. Lingard's History of England, in which he stated that Ven. Bede was born at Sunderland. This statement was also censured by Ghele, who was then in England making minute enquiries into the life and writings of Ven. Bede. In his "Anglo-Saxon Church," (vol. ii., p. 189,) Dr. Lingard reconsiders this opinion, and seems disposed to adhere to it; principally, as our readers will find, because in Alfred's translation of the History of Bede, he is stated to have been born "on *sunderland* of the same monastery;" which Dr. Lingard understands to mean on the land *sundered* or *cut off* from the monastery by the river Wear; but which others understand to mean no more than on land *sundered*, or set apart from the royal domains, for the use of the monks.

We think this question may, in some degree, be determined by resorting to another source of evidence. Bede informs us that he was born "in territorio ejusdem monasterii," which Alfred translates as above, and which, as Dr. Lingard observes, is applicable (per se) to any one of the Folclands. Both Dr. L. and Mr. Stephenson agree that the land on which Bede was born belonged, at the time of his birth, to the monks. If so, it is clear that he was born neither on the Jarrow nor Sunderland property,

but on the fish, or Wearmouth allotment, north of the river which was conveyed to them by Egfrid in 672; for they were in possession of no other. The Jarrow property, which was the next acquisition, was granted in 682, when Bede had been two years at school.

Perhaps, indeed, it is now impossible to ascertain the precise place of his birth. We cannot overlook the conjecture which is offered by Dr. Wilcock in his "*Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth*;" namely, that whereas some eminences about a mile distance from Gibside, on the north bank of the Derwent, bear his name, being called "*Bede's hills*," the place of his nativity may have been in that neighbourhood;\* and although we cannot subscribe to this conjecture, yet we refer with great pleasure to the learned and eloquent Tract published so long ago by the venerable author, then a missionary on the interesting territories of which we are speaking, afterwards transferred to a more active and laborious field on the banks of the Mersey, where he still survives to survey from the Convent heights of Everton "*Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ*."

But scanty and unsatisfactory as are the materials for the elucidation of this and many similar points in the life of Bede, it may still be possible for a careful and conscientious biographer to glean many interesting fragments of information. The quick and watchful eye of Dr. Lingard, for instance, has discovered one incident in the life of Bede of great interest, which, we believe, has escaped the notice of every other writer. Among the supplementary documents published by Mr. Stephenson in his invaluable appendix is a "*Life of the Abbots* by an anonymous writer;" who informs us that as soon as the monastery of St. Paul's (Jarrow) was completed, a colony of twenty-two brothers, of whom only ten had received the tonsure, was sent to take possession of it, and that shortly after, all of this party who were qualified to read the lessons and chant the antiphons were carried off by a pestilence, except the abbot and one little boy, (*uno puerulo*) so that they were compelled to discontinue the chanting of the canonical hours, with the exception of vespers and matins. They continued this for a week; but the afflicted abbot, finding additional affliction in the

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\* *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth*, translated from Ven. Bede, by the Rev. P. Wilcock, 1818.

mutilation of the services, resolved that the whole of the office should be duly performed, and, with the strenuous exertions of all that remained, he and the boy alluded to (*per se et quem prædixi puerum*) contrived (*non parvo cum labore*) to chant it in full till the choir was better supplied. The author adds, "This boy, having attained to the dignity of the priesthood, is still an inmate of the same monastery, and is ever eloquent both in writing and discourse in praise of his abbot. This little boy I conceive to have been Bede himself," says Dr. Lingard. We think it cannot be doubted. No wonder Bede was ordained deacon at nineteen, when he could lead one side of the choir at thirteen! Notwithstanding the sadness of the topic, there is in the original an arch and pointed personality, which shows that the author was aware that in writing this passage he was putting the modesty of Ven. Bede to the blush. Bede is supposed to have had this passage under his eye when he wrote *his* Lives of the Abbots, but he takes no notice of it, but merely records the affliction of the abbot Bennet Biscop, on finding on his return from Rome that so many of his brethren (*catervam non paucam*) had been carried off by the pestilence.\*

We mention this but as a sample of what may be done by an intelligent and conscientious critic. The time has come when, if ever, the memory of our great countryman should receive all the justice which the fragmentary records of his age will permit. Few of the available materials are now unknown. It only remains to collate, contract, and criticize. Let us hope that the example of activity which is set upon the continent—the revived labours of the Bollandists, the Benedictines, the Oratorian continuators of Baronius—will not be lost upon the countrymen of Bede;

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\* We are inclined to question the opinion of most of the editors that Ven. Bede had this anonymous composition before him when he wrote his "Lives of the Abbots." The words of the anonymous writer are:—"Excepto ipso abbate et uno puerulo, qui nunc usque in eodem monasterio presbyterii gradum tenens, jure actus ejus laudabiles cunctis scire volentibus *et scripto* commendat et datu." Here is an allusion to some work of Bede's, in which the acts of Wilfrid are eulogised, and we know of none to sustain the allusion but his own "Lives of the Abbots." The anonymous writer is also much more circumstantial in many respects as regards the life of Wilfrid.

and that the learned leisure and rich resources of our universities will be effectually employed in the illustration of one of the greatest names of our native literature.

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ART. III.—1. *Oxford University Commission*. Report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford, together with the Evidence and an Appendix. 1852.

2. *The Oxford Reform Bill*. 1854.

PERHAPS there is no department of the Anglican Communion concerning which the majority of the Catholics of this great empire are more in the dark than the University of Oxford. Nor is this strange; for, while the sister University of Cambridge, in proportion to the greater distance at which she revolves round the orb of Catholic truth, \* has imbibed—or rather, we should say, has traditionally preserved in her theory and her practice—scarcely any traces or shadows of the ancient faith which gave birth to the noble foundation of King's College, and the glorious pile of its chapel, which make the name of Henry VI. famous to the present hour;—still the more liberal and less exclusive system which she has pursued during the last three centuries has served to open her gates in some degree, though, it must be confessed, not always with the best results, to the Catholics of England and Ireland. But Oxford has always been so closely allied with the ecclesiastical system of a hostile establishment, and her policy has been so intimately mixed up with the cause of a party whose antipathy has ever been most deadly against

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\* "The Protestant Communions, I need hardly say, are respectively at a greater and a less distance from the Catholic Church, with more or less of Catholic doctrine and Catholic principle in them."—Rev. Dr. Newman's *Lectures on University Education*, Introd. p. 11.

us,—we mean the Church and State tories of the old school, whose hatred of Popery was only equalled by their hatred of Protestant dissenters—that to the great mass of people she has been, and still is, a *terra incognita*. Thus it is that the “Papist,” who is tolerated, and even respected at Cambridge, comes to be an object of suspicion and aversion in those more orthodox regions upon the banks of the Isis. A great wit of the present age is reported to have explained the intense dislike which the High Church party evince towards us, by the familiar illustration of two men crying along the Strand, “Come buy my native oysters,” the one at 8d., the other at 7d. a dozen,—a case in which he thought that the nearness of the prices of the article in question must enhance the mutual ill-will of their respective vendors. We imagine that the case is something similar between ourselves and Oxford. That University has bound up her lot from time to time with the cause of Charles I. and the Protestant episcopate, with the Stuarts on the throne as long as they were Protestant, and afterwards, when they were Catholics in exile; she has maintained the Tudor teaching of the divine right of kings, and stamped the doctrine of passive resistance with her fullest approbation; and nearly down to the times in which we live, while the master spirits of Cambridge were advocating the cause of civil freedom and of Catholic emancipation, the Oxford dons showed forth the true spirit which they had imbibed from the good old days “when George the Third was king,” by withdrawing their confidence from the late Sir R. Peel, expressly because he reluctantly conceded the emancipation of one-third of her Majesty’s subjects from the galling and insulting yoke of penal laws of three centuries’ duration.

But for our part we do not allude to the past in a harsh and unforgiving spirit. We are willing to “let by-gones be by-gones,” and to hope that, with more enlightened legislation, a brighter era has at length begun to dawn on Oxford. We only refer to past events in order to account for the singular ignorance of all the concerns of Oxford which prevails among us, and our consequent indifference to its present fortunes.

And yet we think that it should hardly be so. The traditions and associations of Oxford are peculiarly Catholic. The colleges were not merely founded by Catholics, but were especially ecclesiastical and monastic in their character.

The Reformation, which worked such havoc over this fair island of the saints, and levelled the parish churches, and altars, and chapels, and monasteries, and chantries in the dust, left Oxford comparatively untouched. Though from that time Catholic devotions were doubtless omitted, and ecclesiastical processions were dropped in practice, yet in theory they still remained at Oxford; and now it is known to the world through the pages of her Majesty's Blue Books, what previously was a secret known only to the members of the respective colleges and the literati of the University, that not only minute directions respecting these and similar devotions still remain written in the statute books of several colleges, but that for three hundred years a succession of educated men and clergymen has been accustomed to take a solemn oath, under heavy anathemas and in the name of God, that they will religiously observe these ceremonies. Add to this the fact that together with the rise of a new school of theology in Oxford during the last twenty years, has been developed a Christian reaction, such as England has not witnessed since the days of the Reformation; and that many who ten years since were the ornament and pride of that university, and the recognised leaders of religious opinion within it, are now earnest members and zealous priests of that Church, on the spoils of which they were reared as Protestants; and we have just grounds for considering that our Catholic body would not fail to take an interest in a somewhat detailed account of its internal economy.

But thus much by way of apology. In the present pages we purpose to give our readers a slight, though necessarily imperfect, sketch of the first origin of the University system; to show them what was its condition and its mode of action in the middle ages; and having traced the progress of the University from the Reformation downwards, to give as faithful and correct an account of the present condition of Oxford as it is possible to glean from the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners and our present knowledge of those who have been educated in that seat of learning.

The term "University" in the technical sense in which we are accustomed to use it now-a-days is by no means of equal antiquity with the system itself; the earliest document in which that designation is applied to the University of Paris being a Decretal of Pope Innocent III. in the early part of the thirteenth century. The origin of all



those seats and schools of learning which afterwards became so famous in the history of mediæval literature, is to be sought for, not in some one authoritative act of the founder calling them severally into being, and creating an University where there was none before ; but in the voluntary aggregation of a certain number of youths as hearers and disciples of some one or two learned men, who had fixed themselves down in a favourable spot (generally in one of the larger cities), and had so attracted around them a crowd of willing and eager disciples. Thus the earliest documents which bear upon the history of the University of Bologna show that in its beginning it was a mere corporation of students, who had repaired together from distant lands, and had associated themselves together, in order to avail themselves of the instruction of a few celebrated teachers of civil law. The most ancient papers belonging to it are compacts entered into by the students themselves for mutual support and assistance ; and the privileges and immunities granted to them by popes and emperors are of a subsequent date. The University of Paris, on the other hand, in its first days, was a corporation rather of graduates than of scholars ; and it grew up, so to speak, under the very shadow of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. It is well known that to almost every cathedral and larger monastery there was always attached a school, where all youths who looked forward to the priesthood as their solemn vocation, and also such laymen as could afford the cost of a learned education, and who desired to improve themselves, were instructed in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. The poorer and smaller establishments, as we learn from the letters of Abelard, were in the habit of entrusting this work to one of their number, who bore the title of "Scholasticus ;" while the wealthier employed a paid preceptor under the same title to instruct the junior pupils in grammar and philosophy.

In the middle of the twelfth century the concourse of students at Paris was so great, that they were obliged to divide themselves into two sections, one of which followed theology, and the other secular learning. The chief preceptor was called the rector ; and all who had studied under him for a definite period were entitled to be raised to the grade of assistant teachers, first under the title of *magister* and *baccalaureus* (master and bachelor), and finally, to the rank of an independent "doctor." As soon as these three

grades were fairly developed, those who bore the above titles combined together under a rector chosen by themselves. Thus did the *University* system gradually expand itself at Paris. The *Collegiate* element was distinct, and of a somewhat later date. In consequence of the celebrity of the University, and the ability of its preceptors, the advantages of a residence there became more palpable to the Community at large. Hence at an early period of the University's existence, colleges were founded within the limits of the University by private families or religious orders. Originally they were intended exclusively for poor scholars, who were to live in them subject to certain rules of discipline; and by degrees, as more able teachers were employed to superintend the youths who resided in the various colleges, those students who did not reside within their walls came to be regarded as exceptions; so that in the fifteenth century the colleges had absorbed the existence of the University in their own.

To those who are acquainted with its early history, it is almost superfluous to observe that the University of Paris is the type upon which that of Oxford was founded and moulded. In Oxford we have the same spontaneous flocking of students to famous professors, the same voluntary combination of professors into a learned corporation. We have also the same grades or degrees, though following in a slightly different order; the same aftergrowth of the collegiate element upon the ancient system, and finally the same absorption of the latter in the former.

We extract the following statement from the Report itself, pp. 7, 8.

"The University (of Oxford), like all the older Universities of Western Europe, appears to have been at first an association of teachers, united only by mutual interest. Every association requires a legislative body and executive officers; but in all voluntary associations these essential elements exist, originally at least, in their simplest form. The houses in which the students lived, under a master in arts, or doctor in one of the faculties, who was their tutor, were called *Aulæ* or *Halls*. Their code of discipline and their system of study was that of the University. It is said, and it seems probable, that the legislature of the University in early times consisted of one house only, in which all the masters or teachers had a seat, called the *Congregation*. Being engaged in the daily business of the schools, the masters were always at hand, and could be convened at any moment except in the holidays.....In the course

of time it would seem that an increasing body of persons arose who sought the license to teach as an honour rather than as a profession; of these, many continued to live in the place, and retained an interest in the University. It is probable that from this cause, and with a view of leaving to the actual Teachers the management of those matters which peculiarly belonged to them, the expedient was adopted of forming a second House with legislative powers, to be composed of all who had attained a certain academical rank, whether they were or were not Teachers. This body, which was called the 'great Congregation,' met only at intervals, and also bore the name of 'Convocation,' as requiring a regular summons by bedells. The House of Convocation naturally became the more important of the two, as comprehending both the Members of Congregation and the ever-increasing number of those who were not actual Teachers, and also as determining the questions which were of interest to the whole academical community."

The chief ruler of the scholars belonging to the University bore the name, first of Rector, and afterwards of Chancellor. This officer was elected by the Masters, and was generally an ecclesiastic; and he was assisted by two other delegates of the Masters, named proctors, one for each of "the two nations,"—in reference to the great divisions of England north and south of the Trent.

Such was, some five or six centuries ago, the primitive legislature of the literary republic of Oxford. But the House of Convocation, having absorbed the earlier and smaller body into itself, continued down to a comparatively late period of history to exercise the supreme legislative power in the University; and energy, and not stagnation being the order of the day, so widely was the fame of Oxford spread in those "dark" days, that we read of a time when, according to the annals of Anthony à Wood, in the reign of Edward I. there were no less than three hundred Inns or Hostels in Oxford. But about the time of the Reformation, in the confusion which ensued upon the violent change of the existing system, this body, which, at all events, was popular in its constitution, and admitted some freedom of thought and debate, was superseded by one of the most unhappy and imbecile oligarchies that have ever swayed the destinies of a learned and important academic body. "The heads of Houses," says the Report, (p. 8.) "had as such no statutable power in the University, before the middle of the sixteenth century." The collegiate system having absorbed the University, the influence

thus acquired by the heads of these colleges as a body could not fail of making itself felt, and naturally brought about the present state of things. In 1569, Dudley, earl of Leicester, who was at that time Chancellor of the University, imposed upon it a statute, enjoining that all measures relating to the University should be previously discussed before they were submitted to Convocation, not as hitherto by Convocation itself, but in a meeting composed of the vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Houses, and the two Proctors. In 1631, this body was formally recognized, and received the name of the Hebdomadal Board. "By this ordinance," (says the Report,) "which in 1636 was inserted into the Laudian Code, the Board was invested with the rights and entrusted with the duties which have ever since belonged to it." They are empowered to "deliberate, as occasions may arise, on the defence of the privileges and franchises of the University, and to advise, inquire, and take counsel for the observance of its statutes and customs. Also if they, or the greater part of them, think any proposition necessary for the good government, academical proficiency, repute, or common weal and use of the University, they are empowered to discuss it," in order that it may, after such deliberation, be laid before the two assemblies of Masters of Arts, of which we shall speak presently. And in another Statute it is decreed, that this Hebdomadal Board shall draw up all new measures before they are submitted to Convocation.

These two Statutes give to the Hebdomadal Board the sole initiative power in the legislation of the University, and the chief share in its administration. "By this change the Constitution of the University of Oxford," says the Report, "is essentially distinguished, not only from its own ancient form, and from the Constitution of all Scottish and Foreign Universities, but also from that of the sister University of Cambridge."

The consequences of this change have been very disastrous to Oxford. It vested the whole legislative and executive functions of the University in a narrow oligarchy of some five-and-twenty persons, generally of no very high order of ability, and of that age of life at which men usually become careless and indifferent to progress and reform, and steady conservators of all existing abuses. Nor is this all. The Doctors have since ceased to teach; the name of Regent has become a mere title. The College Tutors, on

whom the instruction of the University now mainly depends, have no place in this oligarchic body. "The present House of Congregation meets only for the purpose of hearing measures which it cannot discuss, of conferring degrees to which candidates are already entitled, and of granting dispensations which are never refused." Even Convocation itself has no power of amending what is laid before it by the oligarchs; it can only accept or reject it without amendment.

Accordingly we are not surprised at finding, since the attention of thoughtful men, both within and without the University, has been drawn to the subject, that the complaints against the Hebdomadal Board are loud, and the dissatisfaction general, and the evidence against it, which has been laid before Her Majesty's Commissioners, most copious, explicit, and conclusive. But for a full appreciation of the feeling which actually prevails in the University against the present constitution and powers of the Board, we must refer our readers to the body of evidence appended to the Report, from which, however, we will extract the following remarks of Professor Vaughan, in which the subject is briefly and temperately discussed. He says:

"Whatever may be the merits and efficiency of this part of our present Constitution, it is not a fundamental and aboriginal system. And I cannot but think that it is somewhat more exclusive in its character than can be necessary or beneficial. The Heads of Colleges are elected by their respective societies, and owe their promotion to the confidence which these bodies repose in them. This confidence may arise from a sense of past services, or the acknowledgment of qualities adapted to manage the details of finance, property, and discipline; or from social merits calculated to govern and harmonize the society. But the Heads of Houses do not necessarily, or even very generally, follow literary and scientific pursuits. Nor are they directly and closely connected with the instruction of the place. They simply appoint the Tutors, and preside with more or less activity at the terminal examinations in College. They live generally with their families, and do not immediately imbibe the spirit or learn the wishes of those who more directly carry forward the instruction. They constitute a most valuable element for legislation as well as administration; but I think that it would be advantageous, if, in addition to this, other influences were admitted to give their aid in suggesting and framing the laws of the University."

Once a week this Board has met since the days of

Charles I. and of Laud; and truly we may say that such a century-and-a-half of intellectual stagnation, as was seen in Oxford from those days down to the commencement of the present century, is almost without a parallel. And yet the legislation of Laud was not without its merits. For a century before his own time, the University had been rent asunder by the opposing parties of Calvinistic Puritans, and of the High Church faction, of whom we may take Laud himself as the most perfect type. From the time of the Reformation, intellect had thrown off the pleasant yoke of religion, and, having freed itself from the authority of an infallible guide, in the person of the ancient Catholic Church, had reaped the bitter fruit of strife and contentions. It had sown to the whirlwind and the storm; it was weary of the course which it had so fruitlessly pursued, and sunk into religious and intellectual apathy. But Laud, instead of seeking to renew the ancient ties which had bound his University to the Papacy, strove to infuse new blood into the ancient system by propounding the code of statutes, which has borne his name. The Laudian Code was confirmed by royal license; in it he restored some few ancient practices, such as Public Lectures, Disputations, and Examinations; two, at least, of which, under other circumstances, had been followed with success. The course of study which he prescribed is even more comprehensive than any which the University has ever attempted to enforce on students in general, as a condition for obtaining a degree; and it extended over seven years, a period just double, we believe, to its average length under the present system.\* The lectures were delivered by

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\* The following is a brief outline of the seven years' course prescribed by the Laudian Code. The Student in the first year was to attend Lectures on Grammar. The Lecturer was to expound its rules from Priscian, Linacre, or some other approved writer, or to explain critically some passage of a Greek or Roman author. The Student was also to attend Lectures on Rhetoric, founded on the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Hermogenes, or Quintillian. The Ethics, Politics, and Economics of Aristotle, and Logic, were to be the subjects of the second year. Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry, and the Greek Language, under the Professor of Greek, of the third and fourth. The Degree of Bachelor of Arts, which then, as now, could be taken at the end of the fourth year, was only a stage in the academical course, not as now its termination.

Three more years were to be devoted to the study of Geometry,



University Professors, not by College Tutors; and not to undergraduates only, but to B. A.'s and M. A.'s also, if they wished to proceed to a Doctor's degree; and all resident M. A.'s of a certain standing were obliged by the same Code to enter upon one of the "lines" or faculties of Theology, Law, or Medicine. As to the Disputations, each student was required to "oppose" once, and to "respond" once in the Public Schools; but the Disputations have passed away, and the very phraseology of their system is now unintelligible. Public Examinations had been instituted in the reign of Elizabeth, but they became at once a dead letter. They were revived by Laud, who seems to have looked forward to them with great hope as the means of regenerating Oxford. "Suffer not," (he writes in 1640,) "that exercise which will bring so much present honour to the University, and so much future benefit to the Church, either to fail or to be abused by any collusion."\* Nor would this seem to be merely the partial estimate formed of his own work by the author himself. Anthony à Wood calls it a "happy innovation," and a great and beneficial measure.† Its introduction gave a fresh impetus to study, and is said to have caused so great apprehension among the idler class of students, that one of them committed suicide the day before he was to undergo examination. What the nature of the Public Examination was somewhat more than two centuries ago may be gathered from the following passage, which we prefer to extract from the Report, rather than to give the substance in our own words:—

"The Public Examination instituted in 1636 was as follows. For the Degree of Bachelor of Arts it consisted of an inquiry into the Student's proficiency in those Arts and Sciences in which he had been bound previously to hear Lectures, namely, Grammar, Rhe-

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Astronomy, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Greek, and Hebrew, in order to attain the Degree of Master of Arts. Here the general education of the University ended. Those, however, who received their professional education at the University, remained there several additional years studying in the Faculties of Theology, Law, or Medicine.—(Stat. Univ. Tit. iv. Sec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12)

\* Laud's Chancellorship, p. 211. Edited by Wharton.

† Annals, vol. ii. p. 417, Anno. 1638.

toric, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry, and Greek.\* To these ancient subjects Philology was to be added; and particular stress was laid on the familiar use of the Latin tongue. There was no provision for ascertaining whether Candidates for the two first Degrees were acquainted with the Rudiments of Religion. Divinity was reserved for those who professedly entered themselves in the Theological Faculty.

"For a Master's Degree there was also an Examination like that for the Bachelor's Degree, but extending to the Arts and Sciences, in which the candidate was bound to hear Lectures in the interval between the two Degrees; namely, Astronomy, Geometry, Metaphysics, History, Greek, Hebrew, Natural Philosophy.† At this point the Examinations ceased. The candidates for the higher Degrees were required only to attend certain lectures, to perform certain exercises, and to read a certain number of lectures.....As regards the subjects of these Examinations no great improvement was made on the preceding state of things. They are much the same as those specified in the Statutes of King Edward VI. The Laudian Statutes require, indeed, the addition of Philology to 'the narrow learning of a former age.'‡ But the narrow learning was still retained, and the Students of Oxford were made to study Natural Philosophy in an age subsequent to that of Copernicus and Bacon, from 'the Physics of Aristotle or his books concerning the Heavens and the World, or concerning Meteoric Phenomena, or his *Parva Naturalia*, or the books concerning the Soul, and also those concerning Generation and Corruption.'§ All disputants were bound to defend the ancient writers on Grammar 'with all their power,' and in Rhetoric, Politics, and Moral Philosophy, to maintain 'the whole doctrine of the Peripatetics.' The authority of Aristotle was to be paramount; and all modern writers were 'utterly rejected.'"

We should be tempted here to make a remark on the absurdity of a portion of the above outline, had not the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty saved us the trouble. The Laudian system, doubtless,—as the Hebdomadal Board in their plenitude of wisdom remarked so lately as in 1850,—was "a system of study admirably arranged, at a time when not only the nature and faculties of the human mind were exactly what they are still, and must of course remain," though we cannot admit of

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\* Stat. Univ. Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

† Stat. Univ. Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

‡ Stat. Univ., Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

§ Tit. vi. Sec. 2, § 9.

|| Tit. ix. Sec. 2, § 1.

the Laudian era, that it was an age in which “the principles of sound and enlarged culture were far from being imperfectly understood.” “We presume,” remark the Commissioners with much appropriateness and with no little sarcasm;—“we presume that the Hebdomadal Board did not extend its approbation to the enactments quoted above as to the text-books and authorities which were to be paramount in the Schools.” We cannot help also remarking with some surprise that even the “Rudiments of Religion” were not required from, and therefore, we presume, were not taught to, students under the degree of M. A. If such was really the state of things in Oxford two hundred years ago, and if a student, after obtaining his M. A. degree, had to commence the A B C of religion, no wonder that (as we learn from p. 57 of the Report) the theological course lasted seven years. And yet, on the other hand, upon this supposition, it is difficult to discover or divine what possible system of theology the Anglican divines had to teach that could occupy so long a period. The Thirty-nine Articles, as is well known, are the sole test and standard of orthodoxy at Oxford, and they form the sole body of dogmatic religion that is enjoined by the Laudian code to be taught in its schools; and we can hardly conceive how any Professor, however deeply learned in their lore, could spread a series of lectures upon them over so long a period as seven years. This verily would be *nugari de lanâ caprinâ*.

But after all, though the Laudian code has remained, Laud’s system was a failure, and if we may judge from the facts of history, no common one. It awarded no honours; and man in general, unless aided by grace, and Protestants in particular, will not labour for the sake of so unprofitable a thing as self-culture and self-improvement. They will not make an investment, which will bring them no return. Glory and honour are the ruling motives at Oxford; as the Commissioners admit when they attribute the failure of Laud to the fact that he awarded no honours or substantial rewards,—a failure which they parallel by adducing the recent failure of similar attempts, within the last few years, to promote the studies of Theology and Mathematics at Oxford by a barren examination, without honours or substantial advantages.\*

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\* The Report observes that in the former of those two studies the

Not being supported, then, by the solid rewards of Classical Honours and Fellowships, the Laudian system fell into abeyance within a very few years, and so it continued down to the end of the last century. How utterly ridiculous a farce the examinations had become towards the middle and close of the last century, may be judged from the following anecdotes, as related by two of the most distinguished men that Oxford sent forth in that benighted era.

"Mr. John Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon) took his Bachelor's Degree in Hilary Term, on the 20th February, 1770. 'An examination for a Degree at Oxford,' he used to say, 'was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in History.' 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?' I replied, 'Golgotha.' 'Who founded University College?' I stated (though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted) 'that King Alfred founded it.' 'Very well, Sir,' said the Examiner, 'you are competent for your Degree.'" —*Life of Lord Eldon*, by Horace Twiss, vol. i. p. 57.

"Every Candidate is obliged to be examined in the whole circle of the sciences by three Masters of Arts, of his own choice. The examination is to be holden in one of the public schools, and to continue from nine o'clock till eleven. The Masters take a most solemn oath that they will examine properly and impartially. Dreadful as all this appears, there is always found to be more of appearance in it than reality, for the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius. The manner of proceeding is as follows: The poor young man to be examined in the sciences often knows no more of them than his bed-maker, and the Masters who examine are sometimes equally unacquainted with such mysteries. But *schemes*, as they are called, or little books, containing forty or fifty questions in each science, are handed down from age to age, from one to another.

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attempt to encourage the study of Theology for its own sake "resulted in the annual appointment of three Examiners, but has produced little more than *three Candidates* in the ten years which have passed away since its establishment. Three candidates only in an University which is "one of the principal avenues to the Ministry of the Established Church," (Report, p. 3,) which educates between 1200 and 1300 students within its walls, and whose candidates for *Classical Honours*, over and above those who seek a mere degree, average some 180 a year! No wonder Her Majesty's Commissioners report that "learned Theologians are very rare in the University," and admits that "Theological Studies languish" there.—(Report, p. 71.)

The Candidate to be examined employs three or four days in learning these by heart, and the Examiners, having done the same before him when they were examined, know what questions to ask, and so all goes on smoothly. When the candidate has displayed his universal knowledge of the sciences, he is to display his skill in Philology. One of the Masters, therefore, desires him to construe a passage in some Greek or Latin classic, which he does with no interruption, just as he pleases, and as well as he can. The Statutes next require that he should translate familiar English phrases into Latin. And now is the time when the Masters show their wit and jocularly. Droll questions are put on any subject, and the puzzled Candidate furnishes diversion in his awkward embarrassment. I have known the questions on this occasion to consist of an inquiry into the pedigree of a race-horse.'"—Works of Dr. Vicesimus Knox, vol. i. pp. 377—380. No. 77, of *Essays, Moral and Literary*. 8vo. London. 1824.\*

"It might have been added (observes the Report, p. 59) that at this time the Examiners were chosen by the Candidate himself from among his friends, and that he was expected to provide a dinner for them after the Examination was over."

From this state of intellectual stagnation and debasement the University was rescued, strange to say, by one who was Head of a House and a Member of the Hebdomadal Board. Oriel College has for many years been the chief home of original thought, and for the boldness of the religious opinions of its members. At the commencement of the present century, its late Head, Dr. Eveleigh, aided by one of the tutors, Coplestone, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, procured the passing of a Statute, based upon that of Laud, enjoining that every candidate for a degree should pass a public Examination in Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and the elements of Mathematics and Physics, and laying especial stress on a knowledge of the Greek and Latin classical authors; to which was

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\* Yet, even in the middle of the last century Dr. Johnson thus expatiated on the advantages of Oxford for learning:—"There is here, Sir," said he, "such a progressive emulation. The Students are so anxious to appear well to their tutors: the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the Colleges; the Colleges are anxious to have their Students appear well in the University, and there are excellent rules of discipline in every College. That the rules are sometimes ill observed, may be true; but is nothing against the system. The members of a University may, for a season, be unmindful of their duty. I am arguing for the excellency of the Institution."—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

added, by way of an elegant apendage, "a knowledge of the elements of religion and the Thirty-nine Articles." The twelve candidates who distinguished themselves most highly in the Examination, were to be classed by themselves in order of merit: thus was laid the foundation of the present Class List, which is now divided into four several classes, according to the relative degrees of merit in the candidates, and to which Mathematical Honours in four corresponding classes were subsequently joined in 1807. In 1808 a previous Examination was prescribed, technically termed Responsions, though more generally known by the name of "Little-Go," for the purpose of testing the industry and proficiency of students during the earlier part of their residence. In 1850 a further improvement in the Examination was effected by the addition of two more schools, the one of Law and Modern History, the other of Natural Science; and the honours distributed in these four "schools" have now become, in the words of the Report, "the chief instruments, not only for testing the proficiency of the students, but also for stimulating and directing the studies of the place."

Subsidiary to these are the still more substantial rewards of College Fellowships. A large proportion of these are open to some amount of competition, and are *usually* given with reference to the class which the candidates have obtained in the Classical Examination, although this principle is not always followed; poverty, character, and the probability that a man will prove a useful College Tutor, influencing the election in some colleges; while originality of intellect, irrespective of Classical Honours, or gentlemanly birth and connexions, determine the choice in others. A further stimulus to classical studies, and especially to that of Composition, is afforded by the University Prizes given annually by the Chancellor, for Latin and English Essays, and in Latin Verse respectively. These prizes are open to public competition, and are very eagerly contested. It is singular to observe how large a proportion of the most distinguished names in the political, literary, and religious world during the last seventy years, appear in the list of University Prize Men. Lords Eldon and Stowell, the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Derby, Lord Carlisle, George Canning, Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Justice Coleridge, Sir D. Sandford, Professor Wilson of Edinburgh, the late Dr. Arnold, Dr. Whately, of Dublin, and Dr.



Hampden, of Hereford, are names which intellectually would do honour to any University; and we remark that each of these individuals gained one, at least, of the Prizes given by the Chancellor. For these the competition is great, because they add to a young man's name a *prestige* which is sure, sooner or later, to help him on towards a college fellowship; while the Report informs us that the number of competitors is comparatively small for the three Theological prizes which are annually bestowed. So utterly, indeed, does Anglican Theology languish by the side of classical attainments, in that University which is emphatically pronounced the "main avenue" to the preferments of the Anglican Church, that in some years two prizes only have been given for Theology, because either the Essays sent in were not of sufficient merit, or because no competitors at all appeared to contest them.

Such, then, is Oxford intellectually; now follows the more important question: "What is its morality?" *A priori*, indeed, considering that the University numbers some 1200 youths, most of whom are from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, untrained to the habitual use of the Sacraments of the Church, and therefore precluded from the chiefest avenues of grace, and, at the same time, left pretty much to follow their own likings, we should not expect to find that the morality of Oxford stands at a high figure. Nor is this expectation diminished when we read in the Report how scanty are the means of discipline exercised by the conjoined forces of the University and the Colleges. The former, in respect of discipline, is represented by the two proctors, who are magistrates of the adjoining counties of Oxford and Berkshire during their year of office, and who, by ancient statute enjoy the irresponsible right of entering into and searching every house within the limits of the University: and the Commissioners complain that the discipline of the place varies very much from year to year according to the vigilance or laxity of the proctors themselves, (p. 20.) The University statutes prescribe that every Student shall sleep within the gates of his College or Hall; but, in practice, a great relaxation of this restriction is allowed. So great is the demand for accommodation in most Colleges, that they make it a practice to make their Undergraduates of three years residence, take lodgings in the town, and sometimes "freshmen," as they are termed, are obliged to lodge out

of College during their first term of residence until rooms are vacant. And though the University and College statutes contemplate the hour of 9 P.M., when the curfew is regularly rung, as the time at which every student shall be within the walls of his College, still, according to the present practice, (while no Undergraduate is allowed to go out of College after that hour,) all are at liberty to remain out until 11, or in some Colleges till 12 P.M., the exact time of their entrance being punctually taken down by the porter, (who receives a small fee for so doing,) and reported next morning to the authorities of the College, who demand explanations when they think them necessary. In the morning, the College lectures extending from about 9 o'clock A.M., to 2 P.M., act as some restraint upon the Undergraduates in general; so does also the dinner in hall, at four or five o'clock, a frequent absence from which would be in every College a ground of enquiry. With this exception, to use the words of the Report, (p. 21.)

“The whole time, from two in the afternoon till midnight, is every day left at the disposal of the Undergraduate; and he often has two whole days in the week unoccupied by College duties beyond attendance once in the day at Chapel. Many Students, as we have seen, live in the town in lodgings of their own selection, to which they may return as late as they please; and they may even pass the night away from their lodgings, with little risk of detection.”

It remains only to say a word upon the punishments with which the above restrictions are enforced. We will do so in the very words of the Report.

“On the part of the University these are : 1. Literary impositions. 2. Fines. 3. Confinement to the walls of the College. 4. Rustication. 5. Expulsion. The two first of these are usually inflicted for some breach of discipline, in cases which imply no breach of morality, as, for instance, appearing without the academical dress on public occasions or at night, or for infringing the Statute *de vehiculis*; the third and fourth for gambling, or being found in circumstances implying vice; the fifth, which is very rare, for aggravated cases of immorality, and for such breaches of faith as would endanger a system of discipline which is necessarily dependant on the integrity and honourable conduct of the younger members of the University in dealing with their superiors.

“On the part of the Colleges, the punishments are much of the same kind: the first and second being used for trivial offences;

the third and fourth for the same class of offences as those just indicated in the case of the University, and also sometimes for inveterate idleness ; the fifth being very rare, and involving expulsion from the University, as well as from the College.”—p. 21.

The remarks of the Commissioners upon this state of things, are true, and sensible enough :

“It is obvious,” they say, “that, from the mode of life engendered in a society such as the Collegiate system implies, some of the chief characteristics of the education of the University must proceed. The Student is enabled to enjoy a considerable amount of independence, limited though it be by such restraints as are imposed by living in common with his equals, and by the control, more or less strict, of his superiors. Opportunities are afforded for social intercourse of a more intimate and genial character than would be found in a system of solitary study.....

“On the other hand it must not be overlooked, especially in comparing the present Collegiate system with other modes of supervision to which we shall presently advert, that these advantages cannot be secured without counterbalancing evils. The amount of individual freedom which we have described, necessarily opens great facilities for idleness, extravagance, and dissipation. The easy intercourse of College life is apt to degenerate into lounging and indolent habits, and from these the transition is sometimes rapid to gambling and vice.”—p. 22.

And again,—

“It is satisfactory to find, when we compare the discipline, the order, and the morals of the University with what they are reported to have been even within the memory of living men, that a decided reform has taken place. The venerable Mr. Philip Duncan says, ‘I have resided within the walls of New College for above sixty years, and have had great satisfaction in witnessing many admirable improvements in discipline, morals, and education in the University.’ In the account of Oxford, given by Dr. Vicesimus Knox, towards the close of the last century, the Proctors are accused of attending chiefly to ‘vexatious formalities,’ and ‘passing unnoticed,’ or but slightly correcting, for the sake of appearance, ‘drunkenness and debauchery ;’ the Deans of Colleges are said ‘seldom to choose to incur the odium of being disciplinarians, and of inspecting, with any peculiar vigilance, the conduct of the juniors ;’ of being ‘often very attentive to court the favour of the young men who are to succeed to Fellowships, and who may afterwards reward the negligence of the Dean.’.....For some of the gravest charges formerly brought against both the authorities and the Students of the University there appears now to be little or no ground.”

As to the actual state of morality in detail, it will be necessary again to adopt the language of the Report, and to substantiate its statements in one or two points. The following is the confession of Her Majesty's Commissioners with respect to the character of Oxford Undergraduate life.

"Of existing evils the most obvious are sensual vice, gambling in its various forms, and extravagant expenditure.

"Little can be done by direct enactments to restrain the two first of these evils. External decency, on the whole, is well preserved in the town of Oxford. The amount of temptation to the unwary, however, is such as might, by increased vigilance on the part of the Proctors, be still considerably reduced. But in the villages round Oxford, and in places still more remote from the Proctors' jurisdiction, the opportunities to vice are too abundant. The Metropolis itself is not beyond the reach of ill-disposed or weak young men, who, as we have shown, may often have the whole day at their command.

"Gambling is carried on in the University, as elsewhere, in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult of detection. When discovered it is always severely punished. At times, within the last twenty years, it has reached a great height. It is usually introduced into a College by one or two individuals, who bring the practice from without. A fashion thus springs up in the circle of their immediate acquaintance, which, indeed, often dies out when that one generation of Students has passed away, but which is very fatal in the meantime, since, from the nature of the case, it can be discovered only by accident. A system of espionage would be wholly uncongenial to the spirit of the place.

"The habit of extravagant expenditure is more widely extended than either of the evils just mentioned. But flagrant instances of misconduct in this respect, such as come before the courts, and raise the indignation of the public, are less frequent than formerly; and a large number of Undergraduates are disposed to practise as strict an economy as their position admits."

Our readers will forgive us for inserting here a long quotation from Mr. Jelf's evidence, because, after reading very carefully through the whole report and evidence, we find no passage which goes so practically and fully into the question of morality as the following extract; and it would be unfair towards our readers to suppress it.

"The points in which the well-being of the Undergraduates requires to be protected by a stricter discipline than at present seem to be, are the houses of ill-fame, tandem-driving, intoxication, horse-racing, steeple-chases, &c.

“With regard to the first, the evils need not be specified. The first prayer of every Christian parent must be that his child may be preserved from them ; and it seems to me that the University owes it to herself as a place of Christian education, and those whom she receives into her bosom professedly to educate as Christians, that those entrusted to her care shall be protected as far as her utmost power extends. It is true that the utmost strictness or watchfulness of discipline cannot alter natures or stifle passions ; that those who have no powers of self-control, or are habituated to vice, will find the means of indulgence somewhere : but it is in the power as it is surely the duty of the University and her officers to diminish the temptations and remove the opportunities as far as possible ; especially out of the way of those who may be overcome by temporary excitement or sudden temptation, which might by God’s blessing pass away, if the opportunity of gratifying it were out of their reach. The abodes, or the agents of vice, should not be tolerated within the precincts where extraordinary powers are given her for the very purpose of suppressing them. The Commissioners will see that I do not agree with those who look upon bad houses as a necessary evil, or with those who hold that purity is increased by the presence of temptation.

“Intoxication, banished from civilized society in the larger world, still exists, though much diminished, yet to a considerable extent, in the very last place where it ought to be tolerated. It would, of course, be very much lessened if the occasions which experience tells us lead to it were suppressed. Supper parties in or out of College, public dinners, such as the Eton, the Irish, &c., at which more or less of intoxication invariably during the years I knew Oxford took place, might be stopped. And, above all, care might be taken to guard against the introduction or toleration of clubs for cricket, archery, &c., to which a dinner is attached ; for, however regular and quiet may be the founders of such a club, and however moderate their expenses at first, each succeeding generation of members departs more and more from the original intentions, and no rules can prevent their doing so. The ‘Isis’ Archery Club is a remarkable instance of this. Its original founders were steady students of Christ Church ; the expenses of each dinner were specially limited in the rules to a moderate sum ; what it became before it was finally put down, many will remember with regret. There were formerly three clubs of this description ; two of them, the ‘Quintain’ and the ‘Isis,’ were composed almost exclusively of Christ Church men, and were put down by the Christ Church authorities about seven years ago ; the other, the ‘Bullingdon’ Cricket Club, still exists, and unless it be very much changed from what it was when I used to hear of its proceedings, the scenes which take place, and the songs which are sung at its dinners, held, I think, once a week, are a curse and a disgrace to a place of Christian education. Nor are these clubs

and supper parties evils merely as being occasions of intoxication and obscenity to men already depraved, but they are violations of a principle which to my mind ought always to be kept in view by University and College authorities, viz., to keep the atmosphere as clear as possible from whatever may lead astray those entering on their academical life. It is this which, in my opinion, justifies and even calls for the removal of a man whose example or persuasion is misleading others to evil; and I am convinced that there is no more powerful instrument of evil than supper parties, &c. Take the case of a young man coming up from home with good intentions of living regularly and working hard, looking back with regret to school follies and idleness (and I firmly believe most men do come up with such feelings); looking to the University as a place where by God's grace he may carry out the solemn promises of making progress in religious and useful learning and training, with which he gladdened his father's heart as he left home: he is invited by an old schoolfellow to meet a few friends at supper; he goes in ignorance of what a supper party really is; the result is, that if not made drunk himself, he sees others drunk, he hears conversation and songs which no one can hear without pollution; he forms an impression of University life, and University habits very different from what he expected, and unless he is of more than ordinary firmness, he becomes entangled in the vortex, and then in his turn entangles others. I do not know how the Bullingdon Club is managed now, but I know that shortly before I left Christ Church, schoolboys who came up to matriculate were taken up there and made drunk, and this always seemed to me to be sufficient to settle the question of its being allowed to exist any longer. I believe I may appeal to the recollection of former Christ Church men in proof of the evils which result from supper parties; to the present state of Christ Church in this respect, in proof of the benefits which result from their suppression, which has been gradually but, I trust, finally carried out in that College."—Evidence, p. 82.

The evidence of Mr. W. Jelf, formerly Proctor of the University and Censor of Christ Church, and of Mr. M. Pattison,\* Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College,

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\* "The habits and manners, which gave the conventual system its good effects being changed, we must not think any virtue resides in its mere forms. If little or nothing of moral influence is obtained by intramural residence, neither is the College gate any mechanical security against dissolute habits. The three great temptations of the place I suppose to be fornication, wine, and cards and betting. Without exaggerating the turpitude of the first-named vice, yet every one who is aware of the amount of



would seem alone to establish, by direct evidence, the fact which we assume as *à priori* probable: yet, still, the further question may very fairly be raised, as to whether those gentlemen mean their testimony to refer to the University in general, or to a part of its Students only, and if to a part, then to how large a proportion of them. Our readers are aware that this point has been sharply debated of late in the public papers; and that, in answer to a very sweeping condemnation of Oxford Society, one convert gentleman, formerly an Anglican clergyman, and a member of Balliol College, publicly declared that during the three years which he passed within the walls of the University, he "could scarcely recall a word uttered in the precincts of his own College which he should blush to hear uttered before a mother, a wife or a sister;" (Catholic Standard, Jan. 14, 1854,) and that his assertion was supported by a former member of Christ Church, who bore a similar testimony to the respect outwardly paid to religion in the very largest of all the Oxford Col-

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moral and intellectual prostration traceable to it here, must wish that every protection against temptation should be afforded to the weak and unsteady. It may be left to any one to estimate what amount of such protection is given by the necessity of being within doors by midnight."—Evidence, p. 43.

"I would not sanction," remarks Mr. Hayward Cox, "the practice of lodging in private houses.....my experience leading me to believe that, while the collegiate system is defective as regards the moral superintendence even of those Students who reside within the walls, opportunities amounting to absolute licence are afforded to those who lodge beyond the College walls, aggravating these defects by facilitating indulgence in extravagance and dissipated habits, beyond the power of the collegiate authorities to remedy or even to check. I speak very decidedly on this point, from intimate knowledge of the mischief which constantly arises from the practice in its present limited form. In the case of freshmen, it would be absolutely ruinous. I know it to have been so in cases where young men, recently from school, have been placed in lodgings during the day, though they slept within the precincts of the College of which they were members.".....Evidence, p. 94. On this same plan Mr. Temple remarks that if it were adopted, it "would have a most pernicious effect on the morality of the University. The openings to vice," he adds, "are at present the bane of the system. It is frightful to think of the large proportion of the Undergraduates who are tainting their minds, not unfrequently for life, with the effects of an impure youth."—Evidence, p. 126.

leges, and the one in which wealthy idlers collect in the largest numbers. "Not one word," says Mr. Scrutton, "did I ever hear contrary to purity or morality in the society in which I lived; not only would such language have been considered contrary to religion, but also inconsistent with the character of a gentleman. I believe that every man with whom I had any acquaintance was in the habit of saying his prayers morning and evening, while many led lives of severe self-mortification and austerity."

But on this subject, it is fortunately in our power to quote not only the opinion of individuals, but the deliberate and recorded sentiments of Her Majesty's Commissioners themselves, who have considered and weighed the evidence laid before them most minutely and attentively: and it is obvious to remark that driving, riding, and hunting, pigeon-shooting, smoking, and dining at hotels, which no Catholics would say are pursuits in themselves immoral or unlawful in a layman, come in to swell the catalogue of immoralities against Oxford.

"Those who are studious," they say, "at present are, for the most part, moral and frugal. But a large proportion of Students are now unemployed, and require additional incentives to study. Without this, there is no effectual security against vice. The University, therefore, applied what we trust will be found a great and real remedy, when, in a recent Statute, it determined that more frequent proofs of diligence should be required from the young men. Extravagance, like other vicious habits, springs from idleness. 'To correct these evils,' writes Professor Wall, 'we must make study and not amusement the law of the University.' 'The most effective mode of preventing idleness,' says Sir Charles Lyell, 'and thereby promoting good conduct, is to interest the great body of the Undergraduates in the Studies of the Universities.'"—p. 27.

And again, they say, in allusion to the worst kinds of sin:—

"We intimated an opinion that the young men who flagrantly transgress the bounds of moral rectitude in this respect, are but a small minority, and that many are even frugal and self-denying. This applies, in a great degree, to the general conduct of the Students. Sprung from the most virtuous classes of society, and often coming from clerical homes, they are to a considerable extent under the influence of the principles in which they have been reared. Many may be deterred from vicious practices, mainly by fear of detection and its consequences; yet, we are convinced, that even if all

*restraints were removed, a large proportion of the Students would live virtuously."* And further still, after adverting to the opinion of those who think that "great and general immorality exists in Oxford in despite of College discipline," they declare unhesitatingly, their own belief that "the majority of young men at present live honestly and soberly, though they have abundant opportunities and time for the practice of vice."—pp. 51-2.

As Catholics, we must, of course, remark on the singular idea of the Commissioners (who are mostly clergymen of high standing in the Anglican Church) that vicious and dissipated habits are to be remedied by intellectual excitement rather than by God's grace; by "interesting the Undergraduates in the studies of the University," rather than by leading them diligently to seek the means of grace provided by God as remedies against sin. Employment of time, we all know, is one of the secondary means of avoiding sin, which confessors recommend, especially to the young: but we are not aware of any book or treatise in which it is urged as the one panacea against sins of the flesh.

It is quite clear, we think, from the Oxford Report that like any other picture, Oxford life has two sides, and that neither of these sides, viewed exclusively, can be said fairly to represent the whole. There is the model man of Her Majesty's Commissioners, the intellectual hard-reading student, who lives only for "the Schools" and the "Class List," who looks to these as the final cause of his existence; who thinks, talks, and dreams about nothing else but of future "Honours" and "Classes" during his three years undergraduateship. On the other hand there is the "fast" man, who seems equally to consider that the final cause for which he has been sent to Oxford, nay, for which he lives, is to hunt, drive, play cards, and smoke cigars. But, as we have said above, neither of these are fair specimens of the genus Oxonian. And as much mishapprehension would seem to be abroad upon the subject, and since such an angry controversy has been raised in the papers on the subject, we will endeavour to lay before our readers what we conceive to be an average account of the career of an undergraduate in one of the better Colleges at Oxford. In order to do this fairly, we must analyze one or two different specimens of the species before us.

Within a few months before or after the completion of his nineteenth year, the first of our model fresh-men

"comes up into residence" at Oxford. He knows nothing of the place or its ways, except what he has learned from the letters of his cousin at Christ Church, the reports brought down to his old public school by former school-fellows, and the experience gleaned in the course of a week's visit to Oxford in the previous year, when he came up to "stand" for a scholarship at Trinity or Balliol, and having duly passed his examination for Matriculation, assumed a white tie, and subscribed "the true and full meaning" of the Thirty-nine Articles in the awful presence of the Vice Chancellor of the University. Some ten or a dozen years ago he would have been safely deposited by the "Rival" or "Tally ho," or by the slow "Pluck coach" that used to run regularly between Oxford and Cambridge, at the door of the "Star" or the "Mitre" hotel; and in the latter case, perhaps, pleasing visions of a fellowship and fame, a fat living, a deanery, and an Episcopal mitre, would have flitted before his eyes. But now he is deposited at his college gate by the more homely and prosaic omnibus. He enters; he asks for and discovers his rooms: they are up three pair of stairs, in the back quadrangle: they are well furnished, though dingy and small, and especially the bed-room, with its sloping roof, which is scarcely as big as the housemaid's closet at his father's park in —shire. His College "Scout" appears at his call, reads him through at a glance, ascertains his future disposition, and mentally classes him as one of the quiet and gentlemanly set. He finds himself rather lonely, but relieves his solitude by unpacking, and sleeps soundly from the weariness and excitement of the previous day. Next morning he is betimes in the College Chapel, together with some six or eight other fresh-men, who look as forlorn and miserable as himself, and seem heartily afraid of each other. His first day is spent in ascertaining and paying the valuation of his furniture, amounting to some forty or fifty pounds, and in negotiating from his scout at the cost of four or five pounds more, the purchase of the remains of the tea-service belonging to the previous occupant of the rooms,—a transfer, which, as it usually happens once every twelvemonth, and as each scout has on an average eight sets of rooms to look after, and consequently eight masters, and views the crockery of each as his perquisite,—must bring into the latter's pocket a pretty decent yearly addition to his maintenance. After a solitary

breakfast, our freshman wanders to the College Hall, where the list of "Lectures" for the ensuing term is put up for public inspection. He finds himself in for three lectures a week in the Book of Genesis or Deuteronomy, and two more on the Thirty-nine Articles; three in a Greek Play of Euripides, three Herodotus or Livy lectures, together with a few more in Arithmetic, Algebra, and Euclid, or in the Logic of Aldrich. He has not as yet exactly made up his mind whether he intends actually to read for a class, or whether he will content himself with an ordinary "pass" degree: but he sets steadily and quietly to work: begins to "get up" his lectures, attends chapel every morning; breakfasts with some fellow freshman on alternate mornings; attends college lectures from ten till two; devotes his afternoon to a walk up Headington or Bagley hill; or rides to Woodstock, or "pulls" leisurely down the river as far as Iffley; dines in Hall at five p.m., some six days out of seven, and "wines" in the rooms of some old schoolfellow, or perhaps with a fellow freshman of his own standing, now that the icy reserve of the first few days of freshmanship has begun to wear away on both sides. The evening, perhaps, he devotes to preparing his lectures for the following morning, or attends a debate at the "Union." Such, we believe, is the ordinary life of a majority of those students who, without cherishing any high ambition of the brilliant honours after the Class List, the Chancellor's prize, and the University Scholarship, without "deep interest in the studies of the place," still strive to keep "the even tenor of their way," and to live as gentlemen at Oxford. And from a general study of the Report and Evidence, we think that there is good reason to believe that, owing to a variety of concurring circumstances, this class is predominant in the University. Of course in a collection of some one thousand two hundred young men, living together in a large town, under very slight and scarcely perceptible control, without the full grace of the sacraments and the wholesome and necessary discipline of the confessional, it is impossible for a Catholic not to believe that much of sin must be found; but then he also knows and thanks God, that even where the heart is unchanged, and grace is not predominant, there are a thousand lesser things which act as outward checks upon the evil tendencies of even regenerate human nature; and therefore he finds no difficulty in believing,—in spite of

such portions of the "Evidence" as bear witness to the existence of much wickedness in certain sets of men at Oxford,—that, upon the whole, morality and decency are outwardly well observed, and that the tone of society, except in one or two small and inferior colleges, may be highly moral and even religious in a certain superficial sense.

The above sketch is, of course, merely negative; it does not dwell on the side of positive religion: of that commodity we do not expect to find any large stock in Oxford, albeit the University Sermons on Sundays and Saints' Days are said to be tolerably attended by young men, who though statutably compelled to be present, are practically free to attend or stay away as they please. In most colleges also, with the exception of Christ Church, the students in residence are compelled to present themselves in chapel once a term for the purpose of receiving the Holy Communion. This practice, we fear, is a sad snare to the young men themselves, and productive of the very worst consequences, by prejudicing the minds of many men against the influence of religion in after-life: and we are glad to see that it has met with the severe reprobation of Her Majesty's Commissioners. The daily attendance at prayers in the College Chapel, the weekly University Sermon, and the Terminal Communion, may, then, be said to embrace the whole extent of the religious training afforded by the University and College System; though many religious young men, to the above requirements add the practice of habitual confession to Dr. Pusey and other resident clergy, and seek every month, fortnight or week, in the Parish Churches of the city, "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," which, as its reception is enforced upon *all* collegians once, is also denied to the most pious more than *once* in every term.

But we are wandering from our subject. In the next set of rooms to our model freshman lives another undergraduate of a different stamp. He, too, has come up to Oxford from a public school: he was captain of it last year, and carried off half its prizes; in Greek Iambics, in Latin Prose and Verse, he has fairly distanced all his competitors. To his great satisfaction, he has added the further distinction of an open scholarship to his former laurels. He is one of a large family, and his father's country vicarage brings him in an income exactly in inverse ratio to his family: but



the Rev. gentleman has strained his narrow means to the uttermost to send the most promising of his sons to the University. The young man's rooms are garrets, like those of his fellow freshman; they are less handsomely furnished; the pictures are of a quieter and humbler character than those of his neighbour; a glance round his room, in which nothing shines except the gilded backs of his row of school prizes, will tell you that he is a *reading man*. His views are towards the Ireland and Hertford scholarships, the Latin Verse Prize, a First Class and a Fellowship. He is up early and late, and while he is in his rooms, he is always working towards his favourite end. He is regular at Chapel and Lectures, spare in his diet, somewhat shy and reserved in his intercourse with his fellow students; every afternoon from two to four you may see him regularly out walking round the Parks or along the Headington or Seven-bridge Road; he never rides, and rarely does he launch his "*fragilis phaselus*" on the Isis. His evenings are spent in mastering Niebuhr's view of the early books of Livy, or the latest German commentator on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. His whole conversation smacks of his favourite subject; some twelve or fifteen works of ancient writers are the very atmosphere in which he lives and breathes. Though not a religious man in the strictest sense of the word, he ever respects the outward observances of religion and morality. Thus he is careful to guard against all needless expenditure, as he knows that it must come out of the future fortunes of his brothers and sisters hereafter. He eschews breakfast parties, as entirely a needless waste of time; though after dinner in Hall is over, no one more heartily enjoys a friendly glass of wine in the rooms of some literary and intellectual acquaintance. He speaks, perhaps, once or twice at the Union, if a subject familiar to him arises: if not, he is very shy of gratifying a taste which does not contribute in any way to his success in the schools.

In perfect contrast to the above stands a third student, who occupies a more expensive set of rooms on a lower floor. He has come up to Oxford in order to spend a few months agreeably, before obtaining his long-expected commission in the Army. He has brought up with him a hunter from his father's stables; his rooms are decorated with the brushes of foxes, stag's horns, and an array of silver mounted riding whips, and other professional appa-

tus. His bookcase contains a few Classics, but in small proportion to the Racing Calendars and volumes by "Nimrod" and Col. Hawker. He lays in a stock of Champagne and Claret; he never attends chapel except on the mornings when the hounds meet: and this he does through a laudable fear of being sent for by his College Tutor at an awkward hour when he ought to be far on his way to cover along the Bicester or Witney Road. He seldom troubles the College Lectures, and defends himself from all possible censure on part of the College authorities by putting on an "æger" in the buttery: he sometimes dines in Hall, but more frequently at an Hotel with some jolly companions; and in the evening he smokes his cigars in his rooms or in High-street, or, more probably still, in the billiard rooms.\* He is a thorough specimen of a fast man, and lives at Oxford exactly the random life which he would lead at his father's hunting box in —shire, except, perhaps, that he attends a lecture or two (which he has never prepared) on the days of the week on which lord Redesdale's or the Heythrop do not meet; and in the summer term when the hunting season is over, he is constant in his attendance at the Bullingdon Cricket Club, and does justice to its convivial dinner once or twice a week.

If his father happens to be a wealthy squire, the debts which the son has of necessity incurred in Oxford, are duly paid when the latter gets his commission: if poor, they are taken in hand by some generous maiden aunt, or are left to be liquidated by instalments which hang round his neck, like a dead weight, for the first ten or fifteen years after his entry upon life; or, perhaps, if his credit is very low, and creditors are more than ordinarily pressing, he comes before the public in the Insolvency Court, and has his youthful follies exposed to the gaze of the world in the columns of the *Times*. The unlimited credit which Oxford tradesmen not only give, but insist on giving, the "touting" for custom which pursues men even to their college rooms; the absence of all such a system as that of ready money payments,—for such a thing is unknown in Oxford—and the foolish desire which young men

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\* The latter, as might be expected, are numerous in Oxford. They are, however, under the surveillance of the Proctors, and are not allowed to be open (we believe) before two o'clock, nor after nine o'clock p.m.

indulge of keeping up a show of equality with their richer neighbours, together with the carelessness of pecuniary affairs which marks their period of life, and (what in our opinion is by far the worst point) the egregious folly of parents themselves, all thus combine to ruin a young man even before he has once made a fair start in the race of life. In support of our opinion on this head, we venture to lay before our readers the following extracts:—

“Besides the small class which is guilty of disgraceful extravagance, and the larger body which is prudent, there is still a considerable number of young men who spend far more than they have any right to spend.

“Two or three specific forms of extravagance may be mentioned, some of them petty indeed in themselves, but which all help to swell a young man's aggregate expenditure.

“One such point is alluded to by Professor Browne. ‘The debts,’ he observes, ‘into which Undergraduates are led, by the growing taste for furniture and decorations, totally unsuitable, are ruinous.’ This language is strong, but the evil to which it points is very serious. We cannot forbear from alluding also to the excessive habit of smoking, which is now prevalent. Tobaccoists’ bills have, and that not in solitary instances, amounted to 40*l.* a-year. A third cause of expense is the practice of dining at inns, taverns, and clubs, in or about Oxford, a practice which may be checked, as has been proved, under the administration of active Proctors. The Evidence of Mr. Jelf shows at considerable length the great evils hence arising, and the mode in which the practice may be, and has at times been, effectually repressed.”—Report, p. 24.

“Driving, riding, and hunting, are also causes of great expense.

“But it must be remembered in speaking of the tone now too prevalent amongst the Students, that in the matter of extravagance at least, no light portion of the blame lies on parents, or perhaps (it might be more justly said) on the state of public feeling. ‘The real causes of extravagance,’ says Professor Walker, ‘are, the state of society in general, and the weakness of parents, who wish their sons to be like other young men.’ ‘A different tone of social morality,’ says Mr. Congreve, ‘on the two points of extravagant expense and idleness must prevail both at Oxford and in the country generally, before there can be any effectual check to these evils. Among the higher classes of English society public opinion on these points is very lax. To spend more of their income, to waste their time, and to be moderately disorderly in conduct, have been and still are so usual in ordinary English education of the upper classes, that they are tolerated by a very indulgent treatment in society, treated as privileges of the rich and easy classes, and only

complained of by the great majority of such classes when they lead to too marked a failure, or to too heavy bills.\*

"Some parents who are rich but not distinguished by rank, are too often glad to place their sons on a par, as regards expenditure at least, with those of higher birth, or even to give them a larger allowance. Some even of those who are not rich prefer an expensive College, and do not greatly repine at follies committed in aristocratic company."—Report p. 28.

How to remedy this bane of general extravagance, is a matter which has fairly puzzled even Her Majesty's Commissioners. It is not to be expected that parents, however foolish in their conduct towards their sons, and sons of nineteen and twenty, however encouraged in their foolish extravagance by greedy tradesmen, as well as by paternal and maternal softness, can on this account be brought within the range of the law. Awkwardly enough, too, the young man, though he be an undergraduate at Oxford, may be at the same time a country squire and a magistrate, and even a member of Parliament; and it is difficult to see how the Legislature can step in and control his expenditure. Then, again, unless he is driven to the very last hope, and, like a wounded stag, has been fairly brought to bay by his creditors, an Oxford man has too much honour\* to plead his infancy in bar to a suit brought against him for articles supplied to him when "in statu pupillari,"

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\* "There is a great concurrence of Evidence to support the opinion that direct interference, whether by the Imperial Legislature or by University Statute, will, after all, be of little avail. As the case stands, only a small portion of the debts which extravagant young men incur can even now be recovered by process of law. The creditor knows this; yet he trusts to the honour of the youth, and he is not often a loser. So it will be in the face of all Acts of Parliament. Besides, it must be remembered that the most ruinous debts are not due to fair tradesmen. An infamous race has arisen, whose business it is to advance money to young men at ruinous rates of discount, and who try to evade danger by expedients which recal some of the most ludicrous scenes of a great French dramatist. It is within the knowledge of one of our own body, that a young man accepted bills to the amount of 425*l.*, and received only 20*l.* in cash. This sum of 20*l.* was the alleged proceeds of the sale of beds, pigs of iron, and other goods, to one confederate, which same articles the unhappy youth had purchased for the sum of 425*l.* from the other confederate. Against such persons no law will avail."—Report, p. 25.

or to declare that the things supplied to his order were unnecessary. The only suggestion that the Commissioners offer as to *direct* means of counteracting the present system of extravagance is to the effect that the law might provide that no debt shall be recoverable which has been contracted by a minor *in statu pupillari*, unless the bill shall have been sent in to the young man in the course of the same term in which the articles were supplied, and unless, in case of non-payment, a second bill shall have been sent to the tutor of his college within a given time after the delivery of the first. For our own part, we cannot see why, at the beginning of every term, every bill of the previous term which is not paid, should not be sent in to the student, his tutor, and his parent or guardian as well; or even why the commencement of a fresh term should be waited for. As it is, long credit forces the Oxford tradesmen to lay on a heavy price; and it is a proverb in the place that each young man is but paying the debts of his predecessor, in the shape of heavy and accumulated interest.\* The influence of University and College authorities, to which Her Majesty's Commissioners look with so much hope, we fear, is but a slender reed to lean upon, in the great work of reforming this state of things; and the general feeling of parents (who surely ought to have an interest in the matter, as being part sufferers) may be gathered from the evidence of Professor Wall, who gives it as the result of his own experience, that if a tutor ventures to communicate to a parent any suspicion of his son's society, expenses, or habits, "he is pretty sure to be told that the parent has questioned the son, and feels perfect confidence in his explanation." The further means recommended, namely, the expulsion of notoriously extravagant men, is summary enough, and may be a cure in one instance, though it is no sort of preservative in others, and (as Sir Edmund Head remarks,) is very likely to defeat its own object. The whole subject is very ably and judiciously discussed in the *Times* of May the 8th, in speaking of the clause proposed by Mr. Phinn, making every bill incurred by a minor, whether in London or in Oxford, irrecoverable. "Nothing in

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\* Nothing is more common among Undergraduates at Oxford, than the remark,—“we are paying for the debts which our fathers contracted;” and there is a good deal of truth in the observation.

reality," says the writer, "can ever extinguish the evil, but the prevalence of wiser and more manly views in undergraduate society. As long as these young men can persuade themselves that there is anything gentlemanly or spirited or honourable in living beyond their means, making a false show of wealth, and contracting obligations to be discharged only by painful sacrifices, or never discharged at all, so long will ways of perpetrating this folly be infallibly discoverable. Sumptuary laws are always failures, and they must be so at college as well as elsewhere. If young men are determined to spend money or incur debt, it is utterly beyond the power of any college officer to prevent them. If the college kitchens and butteries are closed against them, they will go into the town: if the town tradesmen cannot be overawed into proper dealings, there are the tradesmen of the metropolis. A young man entering college acquires, for the first time, probably, in his life, a species of independence which is believed to give to University training a great part of its value. To suppose that under such circumstances the local authorities can effectually regulate the expenditure of a student is simply absurd. What they can do is, to take care that the necessary and regular expenses of college life shall be brought within the smallest limits; that no remarkable temptation shall be permitted to exist, and that as far as possible the means of indulgence shall be circumscribed." And then, after pointing out that the college expenses of a student, strictly speaking, including his board, lodging, and tuition, are far from exorbitant, the writer adds, "The real fault lies in those usages of University manners which induce a student to live up to a standard calculated (there is no use in denying) above the average of means. This is the fault to be corrected; nor do we think that the correction will now long be wanting." This is the crying sin and bane of Oxford.

It will be necessary here to add a few extracts from the body of evidence, showing what is the average amount of a young man's *necessary* college expenses during his three years of residence:—

"The amount paid to the University as distinct from the College to which the Student belongs is not great. It varies with the rank of the party, as may be seen by referring to the section of our Report, in which we speak of the Revenues of the University. The ordinary Fees paid at Matriculation, at the several Examina-



tions on taking the Degree of B.A., and in annual payments for University purposes, amount to about 18*l*.”

“The College Fees at entrance usually amount to a sum between 3*l*. and 4*l*. Besides these, a deposit called ‘caution money’ is required, amounting commonly to 30*l*. It may be regarded as a payment in advance, to secure the College against loss from bad debts. There are also annual dues, which vary in different Colleges, and which we have no means of ascertaining. The Fees to the College at the first Degree usually amount to a sum between 5*l*. and 7*l*. In some Colleges fees are paid at entrance and at graduation to the servants.”

“For Tuition, about 64*l*. is paid during the University course of sixteen terms; an amount which in some Colleges is distributed over three, in others over four years. At Christ Church the amount paid by Commoners is only twelve guineas annually for four years, or 50*l*. 8*s*. for the whole course; but Gentlemen-commoners pay thirty guineas per annum, and noblemen forty-five guineas. At Balliol, and probably in some other Societies, the tuition money of a commoner is 67*l*. 4*s*., paid in three years. In St. Edmund Hall the charge during the four years is 50*l*. 8*s*. In those Halls which receive Students from other societies the rate is, we believe, higher, and the dues are levied as long as the party continues to be an Undergraduate, that is, in many cases for a period considerably beyond the fourth year of standing.\*

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\* The College Tutors, as we have already remarked above, p. 319, have usurped the posts occupied by the Ancient University Professors, whose chairs were for the most part endowed. But, owing to the great competition for high places in the classical and mathematical class lists, and the consequent unhealthy demand for “crammed knowledge” beyond what is offered by the public College Lectures, most young men who aspire to any distinction, classical or mathematical, are obliged at a heavy additional expense, to have recourse to a Private Tutor, or “Coach,” at whose lips to seek knowledge of the more mysterious parts of Aristotle’s Ethics, and the more corrupt passages of the Agamemnon of Æschylus. It should be added, that among these private tutors are far the most able men, and many of the leading spirits of the University. “Private tutors,” says the Report, usually charge 10*l*. a term, or 30*l*. a-year, for three hours a-week, 17*l*. 10*s*. a term, or 50*l*. a-year, for six hours a-week. Private tutors of high standing expect 20*l*. a term: 30*l*. is usually paid by young men who join a reading party during the long vacation.” Thus, a private tutor, who is well known and sought after in ‘scholarship,’ or ‘science,’ if he gets anything like a good connection, can easily make some 500*l*. a-year, besides his College fellowship, which enables him to reside in Oxford free of cost. We should add that almost every young man who obtains a first class, immediately turns himself to this source of emolument.

"Assuming twenty-six weeks as the ordinary length of an academic year, and eighty-four weeks as the whole necessary time of residence during the four years which pass between Matriculation and the first Degree, the following calculations, based on the Evidence, will convey a general notion of the expenses incurred by College Students :

"In Pembroke College we find that the average College battels, including tuition, washing, coals, and entertainments, besides the ordinary expenses of food, room rent, &c., amount to 271*l*. for the eighty-four weeks. We add a moderate allowance for other expenses, including University and College fees, servants, books, groceries, and lights, with loss on furniture, and estimate the whole sum at about 370*l*., as what ought to be the average cost of a Degree at Pembroke College.

"Mr. Temple has given us an account of the expenses of an economical Undergraduate at Balliol; from which we calculate that, with great frugality, a young man at that College may take his Degree for about 370*l*. This includes the items mentioned in the case of Pembroke, though not to the same extent as regards entertainments. The evidence of the Bursars of Balliol shows that the average expenses of that College are much higher than those stated by Mr. Temple.

"A calculation, based on the evidence of Mr. Conybeare, and including the same items, gives about 360*l*. as a fair estimate of the expenses required from a young man during his academical course at Christ Church.

"In University College, taking the average amount of the Battels, and making the same calculation for other necessary items as in Pembroke, Balliol, and Christ Church, we estimate the average expenses of graduation to be about 430*l*.

"It is to be observed that none of these calculations include caution money, travelling, clothes, wine, desserts, or amusements.

"Mr. Eaton, one of the tutors of Merton College, states the sum of 150*l*. to be the lowest yearly sum for which he has known an Undergraduate to live in that Society. We understand Mr. Eaton to include in this sum expenses of every kind, such as are excluded in the former calculation. His statement of the average Battels leads us to infer that this is much below the usual cost of living in that College.

"At St. Edmund Hall, Mr. Hill, the Vice-Principal, informs us that one or two members who have recently graduated, have not exceeded 240*l*. in the amount of their College Bills, during the four years of their residence, inclusive of caution-money, admission fees, furniture of rooms, the fees on taking the Degree. Several have defrayed the whole of their academic expenses from matriculation to graduation, comprehending both College bills and private expenses, with the exception of clothes and journeys, for 380*l*."

The above, however, as we believe, is scarcely an adequate account of all the "necessary" expenses of the Student. For example, he is expected, as a matter of course, to subscribe to the College Boat, and to the College Cricket Club, even though he may personally have no predilection for either amusement; and it would be vulgar and ungentlemanlike for his name not to appear on the subscription list for the same amount as his richer friends and fellows. Again, in every College, to say nothing of breakfast parties,—for the most part more luxurious than those which one sees on a country gentleman's table—"wine parties" with desserts are common; so common that it is morally impossible for any Student to abstain from them entirely. They are called *Wine* parties by a sort of synecdoche, a figure of speech, which, as grammarians say, puts the whole for the part or the part for the whole: and we have the assurance of several recent members of the University, that the amount of wine usually consumed at them is very trifling, except among the Noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners of Christ Church, and in one or two very expensive "sets" in inferior Colleges. Still, every tolerably plain dessert costs something, and two or three glasses of wine and some fruit cost something more, if daily repeated; and College servants swell the amount by allowing nothing that is taken off the table to appear a second time. The roast chicken which is *superstes integer* from yesterday's breakfast, may not, in conformity with College traditions, appear again cold to-day. It is the perquisite of the College scout, and goes to feed his wife and family who live outside the College walls, to whom nothing comes amiss, and whose appetites are as accommodating as the limbs of Master Squeers. We say little of the ordinary amusements of the place. Of these boating, and the fives-court, are the cheapest; pigeon-shooting, cricketing, driving, and riding, the most expensive, except hunting, which, according to the Oxford Report, cannot be accomplished under four guineas a-day. So that there is little doubt that the real estimate is immensely understated when the Commissioners express their belief that "a parent, who, after supplying his son with clothes, and supporting him at home during the vacations, has paid for him during his University course not more than 600*l.*, and is not called upon to discharge the debts at its close, has reason to congratulate himself."—Report, p. 33.

Such, too, will be the belief of our readers, when we lay before them the statement of a gentleman, who is now at the head of one of the best grammar schools in the West of England, we mean the Rev. J. D. Collis, Head Master of Bromsgrove School. He states

“That his expenses began in June, 1834, when he was matriculated, and ended in October, 1838, when he took his Degree. The sum total, including entertainments, Private Tutor, travelling, and all other expenses, amounts to 725*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* ‘This,’ he says, ‘is a low sum for Oxford; I should say the usual cost of a Degree is 800*l.* at least; to very many it is as much as 1000*l.*’”.....

“At Oxford,” he adds, “there is an apparent injustice (which is a constant topic of remark among Undergraduates) in charging University fees, room rent, and tuition for four years, whereas only three years’ residence is insisted on. The large sum required on first commencing residence at Oxford, often swallows up the whole of a man’s ready money, and almost necessitates the credit system. This, added to the utter inexperience of many in the value and responsibility of money (a point in education too often wholly neglected by parents) will account for many an unfortunate man’s ruin.”—Evidence, p. 23.

The expensive habits of Oxford life are the greatest barrier against all the efforts which have been made at recent times in the way of extending the education of the University to a poorer class of Students. We have neither time nor space to devote to a full account of the various plans which have been proposed from time to time; but we must add a few remarks upon this movement.

The Laudian system having stereotyped the University, or rather absorbed it in the Colleges, whose number has been scarcely increased since his day, and which, (owing to a change of habits) accommodate within their walls a less number than were then resident, it is no wonder that the University has been unable to model and adapt itself in such a way as to meet the educational wants of the age, in proportion to the rapid increase which has been made in population and civilization, and the addition of the colonies to our former territory. Nay, so far is this from having been the case, that she has even failed to answer the purpose for which her noble foundations were given. Even taking the Anglican theology, as represented by the Thirty-nine Articles, as the theoretic standard of perfection, Oxford has failed to give even a meagre theolo-

gical training to Anglican Candidates for such orders as their Church has to bestow. Not a bishop's, or archdeacon's charge for the last twenty years, but has dwelt upon the defects of clerical education in the Establishment. Hence, the necessity of founding ecclesiastical seminaries as at Wells and Chichester, Lampeter, Cuddesdon, St. Bees, and Birkenhead; all of which were founded in order to enable young men to study Anglican theology, free from the distractions which arise in a place so warmly devoted to secular literature, and from the luxurious and expensive habits, and the tyranny of old-established customs which are so adverse to the formation of the clerical character.

(To be continued.)

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- ART. IV.—1. *Pastoral Letter*. By HENRY, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. Murray. 1846.
2. *Charge by the Archbishop of Canterbury*. Hatchard and Son, 1853.
3. *Memorial of the Churchwarden of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, to the Lord Bishop, with His Lordship's decision upon it*. C. Westerton. 1854.
4. *The Achill Herald*. Dublin. 1853-4.
5. *Theological Essays*. By PROFESSOR MAURICE. J. W. Parker. 1853.
6. *Cautions for the Times*. J. W. Parker. 1853.
7. *Archdeacon Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, shown to be inconsistent alike with Reason, with Scripture, and with the Church, and his unsound views of the Holy Trinity exposed*. By THEOPHILUS SECUNDUS. Longman and Co. 1854.
8. *The Fate of Christendom*. By HENRY DRUMMOND. T. Bosworth. 1854.
9. *The Revival of the French Emperors, anticipated from the necessity of Prophecy*. By the late Rev. GEORGE STANLEY FABER. T. Bosworth. 1854.
10. *Remains of the late Edward Copplestone*. By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. J. W. Parker. 1854.

**BABEL!** Babel! Babel! The books of which we have prefixed the titles to this article are a few of the bricks designed for the last new storey of the Babylonian tower, but which the workmen, disputing among themselves, threw, each at his neighbour's head. We have been curious enough to pick them up, desirous to ascertain into what species of building they could have been intended to fit. Our impression is that each of them is made of two different substances which no art could ever have forced to coalesce; that no two of them could have lain side by side for an hour, so strong are their mutual repulsions, without an explosion; that the building for which they were intended must have been some metropolitan, or ecumenical temple of civil war, such as a large portion of the sons of men have ever been building, but which neither the laws of nature nor the decree of God will ever permit to rise beyond a very moderate, though cloud-encircled height. Against the ability of these and such like books we have nothing to say. To hold what they hold seems to us to need much more cleverness than to hold the truth. Indeed, we are more convinced every day that one of the chief obstacles to the diffusion of Truth, in an age of restless intellectuality, is that it is so simple—looks so like a truism—that ingenious people prefer something more complex and refined. To *discover* that truth must be *one*, there would be something in that! but to go on merely *acknowledging* what every one knows, surely that is tiresome. It is also so generous and so large-minded to believe contradictions, no one compelling you to do so! Were we to criticise each of these books in detail we should find in them something to admire and not a little to sympathise with, as well as very much to deplore. There is no need to answer the attacks on Holy Church, or Revealed Truth, to be found in such a collection; for they effectually answer each other. We should be better disposed to extract from them the many attestations to Catholic doctrine which they also contain. Their most interesting aspect to us, however, is that which they present, taken in globo, and as exhibiting the wonderful confusion of mind that afflicts this nation, in the natural sphere so strong and so wise, respecting matters supernatural. On this subject we shall offer some remarks, considering it rather with reference to its philosophical causes and social effects, than from a theological point of view.



In a country, the institutions of which work efficiently together so much on the principle of balance, as in England, many anomalies are to be expected; but of all the anomalies which affect her, those belonging to matters theological are surely the most singular. "What! more theology! are we never, then, to have rest? Who will expel from our coasts the demon of speculation?" Such are the greetings with which each new essay on theology is commonly met by those portions of the community devoted to political or to practical, to scientific or to literary avocations;—excitable only when religious truth, by them nicknamed controversy, or speculation, intrudes itself into the region of more manageable topics, and then "perplexed in the extreme!" Such salutations are not encouraging. On the present occasion, however, they supply us with a theme, which, at least, for the haters of theology, ought to have an interest. It is this—how comes it that England can neither get on with nor without controversy? If it insists on discussing theology, in spite of the lovers of broad views, business, practical piety, and all the other adherents of the peace societies in matters religious;—why can it not reach results? If it despairs of results, why cannot it keep clear of controversy? Why can the haters of discussion avail only so far as to add one "view" more to the views for which people are every day contending, offensively or defensively?

With the lovers of peace we have, as such, no quarrel. It would be unfair to speak of them as lovers of their own ease merely; or as men, who, eager about trifles, maintain, from apathy alone, a stoical indifference respecting questions the most ennobling with which an inhabitant of this world can deal, even when they are considered exclusively in their political, social, and moral relations. The supremacy of the Holy See is not merely, in an ecclesiastical sense, a question of moment;—in a social point of view the dogma is hardly one of a less profound interest: and little, indeed, of philosophy can belong to that statesman, historian, or ethical teacher who has never thought it worth his while to meditate seriously on the question, whether the largest of human societies, one with which the various civil and national societies of the world are at all times so strangely linked, be itself a monarchy or a republic. Again, is there, or is there not, in the world a body not of this world, a body, no matter what

its constitution, at least in some sense organic, and charged to witness to revealed truth, to maintain and diffuse the Gospel? Is such a body the guest of every Christian nation? If so, it must have rights of some sort; duties also; rules for the adjustment of its allegiance to Cæsar with its allegiance to God:—and consequently to ignore it, or to reduce it to servitude, must be, at least, as grave an error as any violation of international law. So much few will deny. Again, a foreign allegiance must ever be a contradiction and a snare. What, then, it is natural to ask, does a foreign allegiance in ecclesiastical matters mean? Is it a canonical allegiance, revering the whole ecclesiastical body, and paid to the head of the ecclesiastical order? or is it an allegiance virtually unlimited, but not unremunerated, paid by the spiritual to the civil power in each country? Again, parliaments have claimed and exercised a dispensing power, practically releasing subjects from their oaths, when sovereigns have, in their judgment, proved tyrannical. Have they also a power of absolving bishops from their oath to “drive away all strange doctrine,” if it should be proved that such an oath involves persecution in at least as strong a sense as that in which the oath of a cardinal involves it? Again, the Anglican prelate claims a spiritual, though not legal, authority over all English subjects in his diocese, just as the pope claims a spiritual authority over all baptized persons in the world;—if, then, the distinction between claims in “*foro externo*,” and in “*foro conscientiæ*” be but a subtlety, does not the Anglican claim amount to a pretty considerable “aggression” on the Dissenter? Again, the “traditions of men” are confessedly a false rule of faith in divine things. Whether, then, are we to designate by that name the traditional and quasi-authoritative teaching of separated bodies, modern, local, and without even a claim to infallibility, or the perpetual faith of that body which alone professes to witness to the “truth as it is in Jesus” through the unerring aid of that Spirit Who spake by the prophets, and Whom our Lord, on His departure, sent to His Apostles that He might lead them into all truth, and recal all things to their mind? Again, is religion a matter of Certainty, or of Opinion as in the time that preceded the Christian revelation? Is there any such thing as Truth, or is Truth relative only, like sensation? How far has our knowledge respecting that foundation of all knowledge advanced since

the time that Pilate enquired, "What is truth?"—asking of Him, the Living Truth, who stood at that moment before the enquirer, and who was by him condemned? If there be a Revealed Truth, does the well-being of individuals and of nations stand related to it in any special manner, or is it a thing apart? Is it a duty to believe Revelation and to love God; and is the Will, or is it not, responsible for convictions, and for affections, as well as for acts?

These are questions neither less important, nor more hard of solution than many of those with which the haters of theology concern themselves. There are countless questions besides in which they could not fail, if free from panic and prejudice, to take a deep interest. Was the Papal supremacy, considered as a historical question, the "master-piece of Satan" from the beginning? or was it, for centuries, as the most enlightened recent Protestant historians have incautiously admitted, the great protector of Europe from feudal barbarism, nay, from the Mahometan yoke, and the nurse of all our liberties and civilization? Four centuries ago the great danger that assailed the civilization and freedom of Europe, the establishment of the Turks at Constantinople was, as every reader of Gibbon knows, the result of the Greek schism, the eastern empire having been by it so cut off from the sympathies of the west that, in its isolation, it was unable to resist the onset of the Ottomans. The great danger which, in our day, assails the civilization and freedom of Europe, proceeds from Russia, whose power, if once established at Constantinople, can hardly fail to domineer over the world. But what constitutes the real difficulty of the case? Is it not found in the circumstance that the sympathies of the Christians of European Turkey, three-fourths of the total population, gravitate toward the Czar, the real head of their Church? If they were Catholics, and if their sympathies found a centre in Rome, not in St. Petersburg, would not much of the difficulty be removed? Here, again, the Greek schism is the root of the evil; and a philosophic Protestant statesman might well enquire, if studying the mutual relations of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, whether a Christian caliphate may not be a far more dangerous thing than a papacy, and whether the very safest form of ecclesiastical government may not be one which finds its centre in a power essentially spiritual, and, only in an accidental sense, temporal? Once more, is monas-

ticism an unnatural institute, or have one thousand five hundred years proved that in it is upheld the standard of a supernatural life, possible to grace?—are convents the strongholds of tyranny and corruption? or have we owed to them the preservation of knowledge, as well as the illustration of those Evangelical Counsels, in which Christian morals culminate, and through which the first commandment retains, in the estimate of Christendom, that place of supremacy which it refuses to share even with our duty to our neighbour? But it is needless to proceed. A very little reflection suffices to show us that on human as well as divine grounds, and with reference to every species of intellectual interest, philosophical, ethical, historical, and æsthetical, the problems really most worthy of attention, on the part of a reasoning being, a moral agent, and a large-hearted humanist, who can with truth say, "*Nihil humanum a me alienum puto*," are no other than those which ultimately resolve themselves into that theology which was at one time entitled the "*Mater Scientiarum*," and which is at present secretly regarded by too many as the greatest of pests.

To be without convictions on such subjects is simply to renounce all part in what is gravest in human things, whether belonging to the contemplative or to the practical order;—or else is to engage in them empirically only. How then are we to account for an indifference with respect to these subjects which changes only to become animosity; and that on the part of men neither Epicureans nor, in the Protestant sense, unbelievers? In all countries, Catholic or Protestant, are to be found men who seek no objects but those of pleasure or ambition. With such, however, it is seldom worth while to reason. The question is, how is it that in this country the supreme of questions is just that one which, in countless cases, the studious will not study, the very name of which incenses and disorders especially the considerate and sedate, and from the face of which the robust and self-confident fly panic-stricken with more than the terror of children? If dogma be an evil, how comes it that these men, notwithstanding, insist on creeds and "fundamental truths?" If we are to take our stand on the distinction between fundamental truths and theological subtleties, how comes it that there is no enquiry from which they shrink more than from one respecting the mode in which we may discriminate between the class

they think essential, and that one which they denounce as mischievous? They are often grave, and, as far as their position in this matter permits, consistent men: and there is much that is touching and edifying in the fidelity with which they practise such duties as they have become acquainted with. How then do they fail to see that the very first of duties, compliance with which can alone attach religious value to their virtues in other respects, must be to ascertain, at any cost, what is the *authentic version* of God's Revelation to man, if they believe that He has given us a Revelation? We are not individually capable of such enquiry, and will only, they say, be lured by it into an interminable labyrinth. Indeed! Then the Reformation must have followed a Will-o'-the-Wisp in asserting the principle of private judgment, and committed itself to an utterly false method of theologizing. Why not then consider the claims of an opposite system, which kept Christianity together for so many centuries, and which diffused it over so many lands before "private judgment" was thought of? But, it will be answered, the principle of authority means slavery in religious matters. Indeed! Then nothing remains but the principle of private judgment. Why not exercise it then, if our belief is that enquiry will lead to truth? Why not exercise it on this very question, the Rule of Faith, the determination of which may possibly render innumerable further enquiries needless; and ascertain whether, if in scientific matters our liberty of thought is in no respect interfered with by the impossibility of contesting primary axioms, and could receive no vindication from our throwing off the yoke of the multiplication-table, the sphere of Supernatural Truth may not include a provision through which we can exercise religious faith, and attain to certain knowledge, not only without abdicating our faculties, but as the only means of really using them? As there are acts which we can only do individually, so there are others which we can only do collectively, and in our national capacity. May there not be truths also, which we can discover separately, and yet, again, other realms of truth which the human race can only conquer and retain through that collective unity which is called the Church? Surely we are bound at least not to assert contradictories. The real opinion of many of those to whom we have referred, is nothing so vague as the doc-

trine of private judgment, or so absurd as a private judgment which claims to investigate everything, and yet will not allow its own claims to be investigated. On the contrary, they believe practically that a man should continue to hold what he has been taught in the body in which he was brought up. But let them be consistent. Is he to hold such a form of doctrine by believing it, or by professing it only? If by believing it, must he not believe also in the authority of the body, which has been his teacher? If, then, authority be, indeed, after all, the principle by which he goes, is he not called on to decide, at least, between contending claims to authority? Is it possible for him to believe that a hundred sects which differ in the most important matters, and agree in declaring that they are all alike human and fallible bodies, can, notwithstanding, be teachers of Divine Truth, each of whom is authoritative in his place? Is it a duty to believe transubstantiation in Spain, and to deny it in Prussia? Who does not see that this is to substitute profession for belief, and to believe nothing except that Truth either does not exist, or is not attainable by man, and, at the same time, that to acknowledge even thus much of belief (though to oneself only) is highly disagreeable and dangerous? Contradictories will not coalesce merely because we have not time for speculation; and to act upon principles the opposite of those which, whether as Catholics, or as Protestants, we profess, is inconsistent with probity and self-respect. In short, the recognition of a Revelation, like that of a Moral Sense, or of Theism, involves, whether or not they prove embarrassing, corresponding obligations and conclusions; among others, certain conclusions relative to Truth, and man's duties respecting Truth, which are directly at variance with the position of those who hate Theology, and would despise it if they could.

To a certain extent, however, a Catholic must sympathise with those persons, not in what they say, but in what they mean. As he sympathises with the Puritan so far as Puritanism recognizes the Supernatural Order of Grace, the Dogmatic character of Christianity, the dignity and worth of Truth, so he can sympathize with Latitudinarians, both of the business class and speculative class, for he too believes that Latitudinarianism is practically the comment which time passes on the experiment of private judgment,



and make a just confession that, on the basis established by the revolt of the sixteenth century, truth is incapable of being attained with certainty, and that, in the absence of certainty, it is not worth contending for. Many of our anti-theological friends would, if from curiosity alone, strive earnestly to find religious truth if they thought that anything more was to be gained by such labours than the fertilization of the field in which the treasure was supposed to lie. Others, though incurious as to abstract knowledge, and in spiritual things, little habituated to observe the close connection between the rays of light and heat, would yet make great and generous sacrifices to avert those public evils which necessarily follow from religious divisions. The same obstacles have beset them again and again in all their honourable efforts to promote the wellbeing of the nation. Whether they endeavour to establish a vast system of education, or to improve prison discipline, the same difficulty, a persecuting Proteus, flies up in their face. Now Scripture extracts are not to be tolerated, and now an imperfect appreciation of their merits is intolerable. Now a Godless scheme of education scandalizes the public; and now a Godly scheme directed by the High-Church party of England, the Puritan party of Ireland, or the Catholics, terrifies it yet more. Irish soldiers ask why they have no chaplains, and English officers demand whether it be not enough that they should have to attend Mass, without being exposed to overbearing or insidious sermons from Popish priests, who deny that, in sacred matters the most sanguine State has a right to "expect every man to do his duty," in her sense of the word. Our anti-theological friends see, if they choose to see it, that, however desirable it may be to keep religion and politics apart, or, to divide between religious sentiment and religious conviction, the attempt is as vain as would be the endeavour to separate between those easily distinguishable things, the mathematical, and the physical attributes of bodies. They find that the imponderable agents of the social world are often the most powerful, and that the world in which we have our political home is encompassed by a spiritual sphere, as by a firmament, in which abide day and night, the sunshine that cherishes, the afflicting but salutary storm, and the retributive plague. They find that, whether they will or not, Rituals imply priestly power, and that Articles ask exposition. They find that though statesmen may

civilly assure the Church that, "of all men who can read and write, the clergy are the most ignorant, and the most mischievous," human affairs notwithstanding need their aid unless society is to fall asunder, and communism, a "universal wolf," be allowed to propound the doctrine of Christian brotherhood and universal equality according to the version of its own un-mysterious Theology. They find, also, that devotions by statute grow cold; that parliamentary religion demands more faith than is extant in the nineteenth century; that definitions which may mean everything are suspected of meaning nothing; that when creeds become incredible the church is in danger; and the State reaps no "quid pro quo" for its protectorate of religion. They find that Dissent is the natural re-action from the coldness of Establishmentarianism, and that to repress it is both a vain and an unjust attempt;—but they find, also, that schisms are wounds through which the life blood, both of religion and social peace, escapes; and that the separated bodies lose their first fervour even more rapidly than the larger body did, or can only keep it up by the exercise of fighting. Wearied and perplexed, they are sometimes tempted to echo the cry of the Pagan, "*quanta Religio potuit suadere malorum.*" They turn for aid to every ally except Truth. Not being partizans, they can face facts sufficiently to know that if Truth be the secret of Unity, neither can be gained by means of private judgment. They have read the history of three hundred years, and see no reason for acting over again, upon an ensanguined stage, the ghastly tragic-comedy of the "Variations." We have said that we sympathise with them to a certain extent. In their wish for peace we go along with them: from their cry of "peace, peace, where there is no peace," we are bound to dissent. That religious truth is either relative (that is non-existent) or else indiscoverable, on the assumption that private judgment...whether simple, or backed up by any amount of merely human authority...is the rule of faith, we, with them, as logicians, believe. That truth, on the other hand, exists externally to, and independently of, man; has been actually communicated to him, may be known with certainty by him, and when known becomes the food of all devout affections, and life-spring of all manly faith, and righteous actions: this also, as Christians, we believe. Can the individual find out theological truth for himself, even if he discards all duties besides, for the

sake of the search? Certainly not...except by finding the Teacher sent to instruct him. So far, we agree with our anti-theologian friend. On the other hand, were we discussing theology, we would point out that, Christian devotion cannot exist without Christian theology, and that man cannot continue to worship and love Christ as God irrespectively of those conclusions, inextricably interwoven, in which Holy Church, during the fourth and fifth centuries vindicated and set forth the great dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Will the Latitudinarian tell us, at least, what the Latitude is, and what are the limits within which, according to its standard, fundamental verities keep their unostentatious court, moderate orthodoxy exercises a constitutional sway, "reigning, not ruling," and relative Truth flings open its liberty-hall? If he would do this, and yet keep clear of theology, aye, and of its thorniest regions, he must offer a higher reward than has yet been offered for finding the latitude.

If he cannot tell us what latitude amounts to in the concrete, will he tell us what it is essentially, and in the abstract? It is comprehensiveness! But what makes a system comprehensive? The number of doctrines it defines and harmonizes? Then the Catholic must be the most, and the latitudinarian is the least comprehensive of systems. Or, the number of religionists united by the exclusion of disputed points? How happens it, then, that the latitudinarians, whatever their accomplishments and attainments, have commonly proved the smallest of sects, rather, like the anti-theological Sadducees of old, a clique than a sect, a clique averse to mysticism, dogmatism, tradition, and sacerdotal influence...fond of freedom...fond of thought...accused by their opponents of free-thinking; but assuredly not successful either in carrying thought to conclusive results, or in imparting to the enquirer the glorious liberty of truth? In one sense, indeed, the great bulk of society is too often latitudinarian; that is, in the sense of "caring for none of these things," living for ends which no one accuses of mystery, identifying reality with the senses, and recognizing religion only as a qualifying power, enlightening self-love, and making worldliness respectable. In this case we know in which direction the "broad way" leads. Is the "broad school" but the booking office of the "broad way?" We hope not. In Germany we hear of a large class whose specu-

lative views are "large" too, who worship "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord," whose religion is æsthetical, and whose faith is in the progress of the species. It would be a grave injustice, however, to the anti-theologians of whom we have spoken to confound them either with the multitude of the worldly or of the infidel. Confining our attention, then, to those theologians of the "broad school," who really accept, or intend to accept revelation, and who desire the spiritual good of man, may we not ask whether the circumstance that they have ever been a small number compared with their opponents of all schools, does not suggest, at least, the thought, that religious systems are comprehensive, (relatively to the number of adherents they include), not in proportion to the number of litigated questions they eliminate, but in proportion to their consistency, reality, and to the number of human wants for which they make a divine provision? Truths are among those wants; for truths are Truth developed according to the development and needs of man. Accordingly, the religion which propounds the greatest number of defined truths, and establishes them upon the adamant foundation of that faith which uses, at once, and directs, reason, is also the one which reckons fourfold more adherents than all Protestant bodies conjointly.

The "Broad School," then, is as unlikely as any other to discover the secret of unity. Can it find a substitute for it? Can the plague of controversy be stayed by suggesting to controversialists that, if they agree in nothing else, at least they can agree to differ? The state of England is the answer. Is there on the face of the earth a country, we do not say so much divided in religious opinion, for America is as much divided, but so mercilessly lacerated by controversy? The sects themselves seem the portion of the community most able to indulge in snatches of rest. Within the establishment there are as many rival opinions as there exist without it; and the narrower ring seems only to make the struggle the fiercer. The advocates of the sacramental system stigmatize their opponents, including three of the archbishops, as heretics, and several of the other prelates as Sabellian, Neologian, or Rationalistic. In turn they are greeted by their evangelical brethren as the propagators of "soul-destroying errors," and by the Broad School as white Jacobins, disguised Papists, narrow-minded bigots, the foes of all that is manly, liberal, and progressive,

men who have renounced their allegiance to truth itself. These accusations and recriminations are very sad ; and the contests which they enkindle rage in every class of society. One cannot avoid them by becoming a philosopher, a fine lady, or even a Prime Minister. A short time ago Belgravian ball dresses sympathised with lawn, and could not surrender themselves to the waltz, unagitated by the "pleasing gale" of "High Church." The breeze shifted. Ministers wrote threatening notices in the shape of letters to bishops ; theological mobs besieged churches ; theological butlers broke through painted windows ; theological and sympathetic magistrates bade them go free. In remote villages clergymen have been hooted in church for wearing the surplice by crowds who professed to regard the presence or absence of externals as matters of equal indifference ; and in large towns the bishop of the diocese has been hooted for deciding that clergymen may absolve penitents in auricular confession...provided they do not make a habit of doing so. Episcopal authorities have pronounced it perjury not to observe the rubrics, and contumacious as well as insane to observe them. Several thousand clergymen have signed documents, denouncing the Gorham decision as heretical ; and about the same number have signed documents re-affirming it. The law courts cannot escape the turmoil ; the litigated question at one moment being a stone altar ; at another, prayers for the dead ; at a third, the orthodoxy of a bishop ; at a fourth, the Sacrament of Baptism. Fly to the colonies, and the fight assumes the more regular character of synodical action. Go to Madeira in search of health, and the question is, "Are the English chaplains to be appointed by the Bishop of London or by the Foreign Secretary?" Go, in search of peace, to Ireland, and a hundred missionary ministers, who boast that they have sunk minor differences, invite you to a hundred different religions ; while thousands of Scripture-Readers, invested with great power of countenance, admonish the starving population, whom the spoliation of past times continues to keep ignorant as well as poor, to forsake popery and the black potatoes for evangelical simplicity, the Royal Supremacy, and the soupers' pot. Take refuge finally at Jerusalem itself, and you find a bishop, half Lutheran and half Anglican, who insists on converting people, both from the Catholic Church and from the oriental Communion.

As time goes by the controversies rather increase than diminish in violence, and are always ready to break out again even after they seem to have subsided. The Jerusalem bishopric was one of the earlier contests, and the wound seemed to have skinned over; yet it has again burst out among us with more than its former fury. A protest against the conduct of the Anglo-Prussian bishop has been signed by between one and two thousand of the clergy, in the form of an address to the Patriarchs of the Eastern Communion. This protest has been met by a counter-protest on the part of the four archbishops of the "United Church of England and Ireland," supporting their brother at the "Holy Places," and suggesting that the correspondence of the remonstrance-party with foreign powers is something very like treason to their own Church. Their suspicions on this point were probably sharpened by the circumstance that some two or three years ago a document, still more numerously signed, was circulated by the same party, in which certain views were laid down relative to the Royal Supremacy, which, in the judgment of the opposite party, amounted to a practical repudiation of it. The strife has already borne fruit. The warden of St. Columba, in Ireland, having been one of those who signed the address to the Eastern Patriarchs, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh has withdrawn his support from that institution, the most aspiring, interesting, and, in its way, creditable institution connected with the Irish establishment. The Bishop of Winchester has also been censured by some of the High Church unions, on the ground, if we understand it aright, of his having in some sense fraternized with the Presbyterians of Geneva at the opening of a church there, or rather for having shown respect to that portion of the Genevan body which is established, but not Trinitarian, to the disparagement of that part which is Trinitarian, but not established. Those who are anxious to know whether the Establishment in this country be Catholic or Protestant, have thus very recently had some additional light thrown on that question both from Jerusalem and Geneva, in addition to that, which, not long since, they derived from the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, utterly denying the cardinal article of High Church Theology, viz., the Necessity of the Apostolic Succession. Then there has been a contest on the Real Presence. Mr. Denison, resigned his post as examining chaplain to the late



Bishop of Bath and Wells on account of some heresy in that matter, and invited the prelate to a tournament in the law-courts on the subject—an invitation which his lordship very prudently declined. The contests respecting Convocation, National Education, Confession, Rubrical Observance, Stone Altars, Prayers for the Dead, Eternal Punishment, Baptism, and Conventual Institutions, such as have been established by that most remarkable woman, Miss Sellon, have become chronic, and special reference to their symptoms is needless.

It would be endless work if we were to touch upon the recent developments of the other theological and anti-theological schools in the Established Church alone, to speak of no other bodies. We must leave the evangelical party to harmonize, as well as they can, the principles of an "Evangelical Alliance," including pretty nearly all Protestant denominations, with the narrower platform of an orthodoxy, guarded by thirty-nine articles, and a definite number of canons. If they follow up their present plans, it can only be by imitating the Rev. Mr. Gladstone in his secession and setting up a free "Episcopal Church" with or without Bishops. Let us pass on. The condition of the other sects may be inferred from the fact that the kirk of Scotland long since, we believe, nearly equalled in number by the Scotch dissenters, has divided into two sections, about as evenly balanced as are the two sections of Protestantism in Ireland, the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, or the two sections into which the Irish Presbyterians are divided, viz., the Arians and the Trinitarians. The dispute is not directly doctrinal, and may very possibly add to the religious animation of what has been described by Anglicans as "the nation that kneels not." With this, however, we have no concern, our subject being simply the perpetual recurrence of religious divisions, and their great inconvenience. The slighter the causes that produce them, the feebler must be that bond of union which ought to have prevented them; and consequently the stronger does our argument become. The inconvenience was felt, and great efforts were made to prevent the schism from the schism by Parliament, and especially by the earl of Aberdeen, a nobleman of known ability, moderation, and patriotism, but far too much a man of the world to recommend his fellowcountrymen to take refuge from narrow views in the Broad School. The Scotch were in earnest,

and acted. They knew that when Erastianism strikes, the smaller the point of her weapon the sharper is its edge. It was with them no question of meetings, and speeches, and signatures ranged in battalion. They gave up their livings; subscribed more than a million sterling to build new churches;—they support a double class of clergy;—and, in so doing, have entitled themselves, in these money-loving days, if not to the honours of martyrdom, at least to those of confessorship. The Methodists, who had already divided into six or seven bodies, are again, we believe, in what the French call a “crisis;” and a new exfoliation will, probably be ere long an accomplished fact—that is, a fact to be thought no more about, but not, therefore, to be without results. The Protestant sects have gone on “dividing and dividing still;” and the land has lately put forth two new bodies not Protestant, and the last apparently not Christian. The former is a religion which disclaims a name, and to which we shall not, therefore, be presumptuous enough to attach any. It is called, by the profane, Irvingism: and is known to include a large number of intellectual, devout, and eccentric persons, who are accused by some of being the greatest theological plagiarists in existence, and by others of being only too original. Their earnestness is evinced by their paying bona-fide tithes, building one or two of the noblest churches of recent times in this land, and, last, not least, by their going to church at six in the morning. Their prayer-book is High-Church, beyond even the aspirations of Puseyism, including a liturgy which, if they had a priesthood, would be the Mass; the reservation of what is deemed the Blessed Sacrament; the seven Sacraments; auricular, but not “compulsory” confession, Extreme Unction, &c. &c. As Theologians they are Catholic in principle, and Latitudinarian in position. Their ideas are often noble, elevated, and deep; but their facts have the misfortune of being fables. Private judgment has been wittily described as meaning “every man his own Pope;”—so their theology might be described as Popery without a Pope. Their system is, of course, one of the pale reflections which the orb of Catholic Faith casts down into the troubled and turbid tides of public opinion. It is a High-Churchism aerial, not earthly; free to roam, but unable to stand;—a Puseyism which has slipped its chains, but has also cut itself off from national traditions and social

conventions. Like the naked child, at the end of Christabel, who, "beauteous in a wilderness," moves about in a climate where "night is more beloved than day," the gentle genius of the religion that knows no name, wanders vaguely, gathering every now and then a new fruit from phantasmal branches or visionary hands, and shyly contemplating a range of spiritual scenery which

"Hangeth like a picture fair  
In the rich and shadowy air."

The second new religion to which we have alluded belongs rather to the genus gnome than to the genus sylph. It is called Mormonism, and bids fair to prove an effeminate Western Mahometanism. It has its prophet, its new book, its polygamy, and doubtless will, in good time, have its sword. It is not of English origin, though from England it is said to gain its most numerous recruits. It appeared first in America, and is an omen of the religious portents and monsters bred suddenly in the fruitful slime of utter irreligion, and in the full sunshine of a corrupting enlightenment. We can proceed no further in our analysis. Whoever would trace the progress of new religions will find a compendious account of them in the census of 1851. From that census it was ingeniously inferred by some of the newspapers that the number of Catholics in Great Britain was less than their real number in London alone. The census, however, is more trustworthy than the deductions made from it by those journals. From its tables it appears that rapidly as the places of worship belonging to the establishment have increased of late years, those of Dissenting bodies have increased twice as fast; and that, so far as an inference can be formed from the number of sittings in both classes of churches, and from the number of persons who occupied those sittings on the census Sunday, the Dissenters of England and Wales, and the Establishment, divide the population about equally between them. We have thus, in Scotland, an exclusive establishment for less than one-third of the population, in Ireland for a seventh, in Wales for a tenth, in England for one half. Reckon England and Ireland together, as many persons insist on doing, as the existing law, and the very name of the "United Church of England and Ireland" require:—what is the result? An exclusive establishment for a population not much exceeding one-third of the United kingdom, even

if we include in it the great mass of those unhappy persons in England commonly described as heathens, and in favour of whom such honourable efforts have been recently made by Lord Shaftesbury, the Marquis of Blandford, and others. We are not now considering this state of things theologically. We only ask, "Does it promise peace for the future, or a controversial war limited to 'Abstractions?' How is this state of things to be accounted for in a practical nation, averse to speculation? Does it suggest nothing to the statesman and the philosopher, though haters of Theology?"

It is hardly necessary to point out the close connection between religious and political feuds. In the last three centuries, that subject has received ample illustration. The strife is not over. The communists and socialists, who carry fearlessly out the principles which reject the historical and hierarchical elements in society, and who ...true political Protestants...resolve every thing either into *Individualism*, or into such combination as is based exclusively on *human will*, have discovered who is indeed the enemy whom they have to fear; what power is that which gives majesty to sceptres, sanction to law, bounds to caprice, order to society; which favours the progress of civilization alike when it pushes its triumphal chariot up-hill, and when it acts as a salutary drag; which harmonizes the lower world by voices from a higher sphere, and exorcizes seductive political ideals by a sure hope, founded 'on a certain knowledge, of that future world in which the imperfections of our transitional state are redressed. The new philosophers despise the warfare with religious shadows, and turn the assassin's steel against what they know to have substance. They have sworn to exterminate the Church, and that See which is its unity, its glory, and its strength. The Kings and States, have also, in part, learned from experience; and, like the tyrant who, when the waves rose around his boat, ordered the chains to be removed from the heroic man alone capable of steering it, have, without solicitation, shewn themselves as anxious to set the Church free as they once were to enslave her. For many sequent centuries, even revolutions themselves meant little more than a dynastic change, the result of disputed successions and family quarrels, and thus were in one sense, political counterparts of those ecclesiastical catastrophes, the Eastern and the West-

ern Schisms, each of which, deplorable as it was, proceeded on principles the opposite of those adopted by Protestantism. The revolutions of the last two centuries have been of a kind as different from that of the mediæval revolutions as earthquake is from storm. They have been social revolutions; and each has approximated more closely than the last to that great democratic anarchy which, if reserved for the world, will be the greatest scourge that has ever afflicted it, and the most memorable confutation of human pride. Is it wonderful that many of the most thoughtful among European statesmen and philosophers are asking themselves what was the origin of a chain of convulsions that threatens to have no end; and whether there may not be a connection between the peril which at present undermines Europe, and that Spirit which, in the revolt of the sixteenth century, flung aside like a dream that world-wide polity which had been the basis of every institution, and which had nursed the infancy of the predecessors of the oldest monarchies? Is it wonderful that they should ask whether the Spirit which tempted that adventure be not in the world still; whether the convulsions that repeat themselves be not echoes of that one which heralded his uprising; whether the omens which the unthinking alone disregard be not the trembling of a world shaken by the steps of that Spirit as he rushes, pursued by the Orestean Furies, the avengers of sacrilege and matricide, down precipice after precipice, and into the gulf prepared for him?

We are well aware of the arguments or evasions by which the remarks we have made are usually met. They are not without a plausibility, especially when illustrated by the political convulsions from which neither the Catholic nor the Protestant countries of the Continent were exempted during a recent crisis; and they must ever have weight with those who are credulous to believe in Crystal Palaces, social respectabilities, and the whited outside of national prosperities as godless even as that of America. We have not space to discuss them here; and our present object is one which involves no profound and protracted investigations. We wish but to point out to the liberal and anti-theological statesman, that, whatever our wishes may be, as a matter of fact, religious must ever engender social confusion. Let us confine our attention to our own country. What proportion of the imperial legislation of

the last half century has been spent in discussing the burthens of the Dissenters? Well! Have their relations to the nation at large arrived yet at a satisfactory settlement? Do we hear of no questions respecting Church Rates, and such matters? If those questions were disposed of, might not Dissenters feel a little curious to know, especially as they increase in landed property and self respect, why they are, beside supporting their own clergy, building their own chapels, schools, &c., to pay tithes for the support of a Church which they regard as erroneous in its teaching, unjust in its claims, and worse than all, a half-way-house to Popery? It is easy to answer, "Tithe is a charge subject to which you buy your land:" but not less easy is the rejoinder: "It is a charge which was intended to provide for the religious wants of those possessing and living on the land. My neighbour pays as I do for his land, it is true: but he gets it plus his religious ministrations, whereas, I get mine minus my needs in such matters." It would, of course, be objected that such a change would be a premium on Dissent;—whereas, the present system is obviously a premium on Establishmentarianism. It would be easy also so to arrange matters that in becoming a dissenter a man could gain nothing, in a pecuniary sense, except the privilege of paying his money to the teacher in whose services he has confidence. Interesting results might follow from a change which would distinguish between Religion and Convention, and suggest the desirability of having the best article since you must pay for it. To assert that such a change would subvert the establishment is surely to imply that it rests on a very sordid foundation. If the anti-Episcopalians of England should judge themselves unworthy of an exemption so small compared with the privileges which the anti-Episcopalians of Scotland won for themselves long since, they are doubtless the best judges. We are neither called on to commiserate the unequal position of Sects which are so little disposed to accord to us the religious liberty claimed by themselves, nor to quarrel with the wealth of an Establishment which proves itself the chief feeder of the Church, and whose universities so largely supply our deficiencies in the way of Ecclesiastical Seminaries. The philosophic statesman, notwithstanding, will hardly count on the perpetual forbearance of the Dissenters: and there are two suppositions



upon either of which he may expect a greater activity on their part. The first is the continuance of Church Rates, an impost extremely odious because it is not confined to those who possess land, and belong to the religion of the rich:—the second is the removal of Church Rates...a measure by which a principle would be established, and the end of the wedge introduced.

And the Catholic horizon...is that free from all ominous signs? Let a Protestant speak for us. Sir Robert Peel, no controversialist, and no idealist, but a man capable of facing facts, which few are, gave his country a salutary warning. He concluded his speech when introducing an increased and permanent Maynooth Grant, by a significant statement. After recapitulating the manifold sources of British prosperity, and the reasons for hope as to its continuance, he ended in words such as these. "There is another side. I see a cloud, no larger than a man's hand on the horizon; but it widens as it approaches us. It is that of religious strife. Make peace in time. Great trials may lie before you in the shock of nations: but all trials can be met by a free, an enlightened, and a united people." No one had a better right to warn. A man of known courage, and therefore not afraid of the imputation of fear, he twice made great sacrifices to avert strife in the chief forms in which it threatened Great Britain. He carried Catholic Emancipation, and repealed the Corn-Laws. The latter measure probably saved England from convulsion in the year 1848; and the feud between those opposite camps, town and country, may possibly be near its close...especially if the admirable principle embodied in Mr. James Garth Marshall's Pamphlet be adopted, and a representation be given to minorities. But the religious disunion...has that, too, diminished? Not even in the year 1829, nor at the time of the Gordon riots, had it reached an extent comparable to that which has been witnessed since the death of the lamented Statesman already referred to. No sooner had the Gorham Case ceased to beat the tocsin than the word "Hierarchy" was heard, and immediately the nation swarmed. Meetings of every imaginable sort were held in all parts of the kingdom...meetings of parishes, of dioceses, of rural deaneries, of corporations. Noblemen of liberal principles convened their counties, and made speeches against the "Cultus Sanctorum;" admirals in the navy quaked about the Scarlet Woman; the Uni-

versities went up to the Queen...in short, one of the wisest nations in the world went mad, and stood for months together gesticulating furiously, a spectacle to an astonished world. Parliament met, and one whole session was given, almost exclusively, to theology. Why? Because a nation violently anti-theological could not see the distinction between claims, existing, or professing to exist, only in the court of conscience, and claims which, like those of a civil or political character, are, either *de jure* or *de facto*, of a co-active character. It was in vain that the Bishop of Exeter explained this distinction in a letter to the Queen; a distinction without which it would have been easy to show that every Anglican Bishop was an embodied and perpetual aggression against all the dissenters in his diocese. It was in vain that every Catholic penny catechism shewed that the Papal Supremacy has ever been, and must ever be, a universal claim, but that it is a spiritual one also, and therefore is no more coactive "*in foro externo*" than the universal claims of the Apostles were. It was in vain to point out that the Papal Supremacy being a universal claim or nothing, whatever ecclesiastical mission, and jurisdiction rest on it must be, in precisely the same sense, a repudiation of the Royal Supremacy, whether they be embodied in a national hierarchy, in Vicars Apostolic, in priests or in deacons. All was in vain. The ploughman is aware that his hand is not fine enough to manage the threads which the factory children can manage: but an anti-theological nation would not believe that any one in the world could understand better than itself the common-places of theology. The consequence was, a session spent in theological declamation and legislation. To "*govern counties,*" and to govern them "*as ordinary thereof,*" meant the same thing! The Pope's right to set aside local recommendations to a vacant see, a right surely as intelligible as the royal veto on parliamentary measures, was a novelty and invasion, though the parties supposed to be aggrieved, had never observed the grievance! Previous ministerial statements in Parliament that, if the law gave no status to Catholic bishops, it had no right to interfere in the appointment, or the non-appointment of them, meant the same as a statement that the Queen's Catholic subjects, alone of all religious bodies, were not entitled to the normal organization of their Church! A law that Catholic bishops were

not, in England or Ireland, to take such diocesan titles as were already appropriated by the Prelates of the Anglo-Irish Establishment, meant that they were not to take any diocesan titles at all, appropriated or unappropriated, in England, Ireland, and Scotland! The obtuseness shewn in not perceiving distinctions, was only equal to the ability shewn in seeing them where they did not exist. In Scotland, the Protestant Episcopate was not to be considered as aggressive, though Presbyterianism was there the established religion. High Churchmen in England, might exercise whatever influence their station gave them in favour of their own views respecting education. The Low-Church clergy of Ireland might do the same; and so might the no-Churchmen of the Manchester school: but the Catholic bishops of Ireland must have no opinion, and must exercise no authority in this matter, except so far as they concurred with a government which could not forbear from insulting them while invoking their aid, which compelled the most aged and trusting of them to exclaim, "in the bitterness of his heart," that he had been deceived and betrayed, which courted them in easy times, "danced in the wind" when the storm rose, and legislated against their very existence! To set up a rival college, and that in these days of free trade and frank competition, is but a disguised form of treason! Who is equal to these things? Who can contend with incensed multitudes, inebriated with their own breath, which can see what they like, and which cannot see what is plain? To debate was vain. If we saw distinctions, we were Jesuits; if we saw them not, it was because our conscience was seared. Accordingly we sat down, declaring, by way of sum total, that if the Bill passed it should be a dead letter, and that we should hold Synods and retain our hierarchy in spite of it. The Bill passed, and from the first day has proved a dead letter. We have held our Synods, and retained our hierarchy in spite of it.

We have since made small progress towards peace. We have had election rows in Ireland, and riots without the excuse of election license in England; a few Catholic churches have been attacked, and multitudes of Catholic servants have been thrown out of employment. The English Catholic members who, if brought up to a fair proportionate number according to a standard determined by population and wealth, must have been doubled or tripled in number, have

been reduced from six to one. On the other side, inflammatory speeches have been made, such as can be regretted by none more than by a good Catholic. In England, the electioneering influence of the Protestant clergy is great; and it is often put forth with an energy assuredly not *proportionately* less than that of the Irish Catholic clergy, considering that the former class receives a solid support from both the great political parties, while the latter, whichever party happens to be in office, is reduced to contend occasionally "pro aris et focis." Those who are most incensed at what they deem the excessive interference of the Irish clergy at the late elections will not, if candid, forget the provocation, both from recent injury, and the threat of greater injuries to come. The party long renowned for liberal principles, and which had a hundred times proclaimed that a great debt was due to Ireland, and had not yet been paid, had visited on Ireland its indignation at a supposed aggression in which Ireland had confessedly had no part. So far as law could do it, a church which had existed in Ireland for fourteen hundred years (two centuries longer than the Anglo-Saxon race had been Christian), was all at once reduced to the condition of an Apostolic mission in Japan or China. The Minister who had done this, had also declared that he was prepared to do more if the Catholics did not submit with a good grace to what he had done already: and after a law had been passed to "give robustness" to an obsolete statute five centuries old, it did not seem impossible that new provisions might be made, in order to impart vitality to a penal measure which had been passed but a few months and seemed to be already dead. To remain quiet under the hand of the distinguished operator the Irish deemed neither their duty nor yet expedient. It was therefore desirable not to be taken by surprise. Under the auspices of a Protectionist and Protestant Government the landlord interest was up and stirring; and other leaders than their clergy, the people, in most cases, had none. The Stockport riots had preceded the Irish election rows. Maynooth was threatened; the Convents were threatened; the National Education system was threatened. The temper of the masses had been indicated by orgies throughout the land in which the Pope, the Bishops, and one more sacred than these, had been burnt in effigy. The justice of the Law-Courts had been tested by trials and verdicts,

the last of which, delivered before an European audience, was a shade too strong even for the *Times* newspaper. There is not one of the threats to which we have referred that is not hurled against us still. Considering the history of Maynooth, it would be no ordinary act of perfidy as well as of injustice and folly to tamper with that Institution;—yet, can even our friends assure us that it is safe? The largest and most corrupt system of propagandism ever known has been organized against us, and walks in the foot-prints left black by pestilence and famine. It boasts that its income for the last year was £39,000, and that it is ever on the increase. Of three possible governments two have been proved to be our foes. The third is neutral, and can be no more: and its duration is uncertain. Whoever, under these circumstances, would bid us trust without reserve to those who tell us in every tense and mood that they distrust, despise, or detest us, must be very simple, or think us very simple. We lament our failures; but we do not profess to be a body made up of Saints and sages, and we cannot promise to escape the ordinary errors of party until our trials cease to be extraordinary. Not even a general war can mitigate the attacks made on us by our enemies. Not even their blindest expressions can induce us to treat them as friends.

The problem, then, on the solution of which, as the most sagacious of recent statesmen perceived, so much depended, has not been solved. The cloud has advanced, and is advancing. The Sphinx propounds her riddle again and again; and will, sooner or later, enforce the penalty. Unless the Catholics can be induced to take themselves wholly off;—unless the entire race which will not change its Faith should be compelled to change its residence;—the same difficulty must meet the statesman at home; and, even were such a thing as a national migration possible, it would meet him in the colonies. Nothing could avert this difficulty unless the emigrating race should suffer some marvellous “sea-change,” become transmuted into the corals of the deep, or transelemented into some nobler race capable of dissolving so much poison without injury...or should attain to a yet loftier apotheosis in regions sidereal. In the meantime, as has been remarked, the ordinary sources of religious strife have been each year more abundant than the last; and additional doctrines are yearly committed to the limbo of “open

questions." Is there any limit to the field of controversy which thus lies "open" before us? So desperate is the case that it is no longer to any religious influence, but to some outward accident that men look for relief. Perhaps the Russian War may bring us the "Truce of God" in matters of faith and charity! Such hopes are vain. Interruptions have taken place before now in the fight; but the fire has ever burst up again more fiercely than ever through the obstacles that suppressed it for a moment. Puritanism met many checks: but it was not subdued by the orthodox Caliphate of Henry, the craftier despotism of Elizabeth, the invincible pedantry of James the First, the courtly Pontificate of Charles the First, the licentiousness and persecutions of Charles the Second, nor even by the measureless secularity of the Georgian Era. Equally retentive of life has the High-Church system proved. The Protector Somerset might pull down churches to build his own palace, while obsequious prelates were preparing a castigato edition of a Prayer Book which they themselves, together with both Houses of Parliament, had a few months before, attributed to the Holy Ghost:—still, the High-Church could bide its time. Elizabeth might cashier, with one exception, a whole bench of bishops:—a few years later a devout and learned recluse would search the whole armoury of Holy Church for weapons in defence of Episcopacy, and wish for life only that he might finish his "eight books of Ecclesiastical Polity." A Baxter might write the ethics of Rebellion; a Bunyan might invest the dry bones of Puritanism with the purple trappings of a mythic romance; a Milton might vindicate polygamy, regicide, and Arianism, with the same domineering eloquence and sun-clad splendour of illustration with which he had formerly inveighed against Babylon and Anti-Christ: a Cromwell might use the "wholesome and preventive shears" to dock, now the mitres of bishops, and now the phylacteries of "old priest-writ large:" a William might inherit the sacred Hebrew Monarchy of the Stuarts, and bequeath in return an established Presbyterianism in Scotland, and an endowed Presbyterianism in Ireland. A Hoadley, a Clarke, and a Watson, might be as heretical on the Trinity as Cramner and Luther had been on the Church: an age might succeed in which religion was more like a "revealed and established Deism" than Christianity:—still, the High-Church School lived on,



and has never risen up with more vigour than in its latest resuscitation. It has been said that at one time an English government endeavoured to get rid of religious animosities by hiring authors to write down religion itself; and that the same State policy which suppressed convocation had no trivial relations with that formidable school of Infidelity which rose up in England, and was ere long transplanted into France. If so, the desperate remedy indicated, at least, the incurable nature of the disease. Such remedies, however, (and private judgment admits of no other) have this defect, which statesmen have learned not to disregard, that they engender a disease more fatal still, and one that comes more rapidly to its crisis.

From a consideration of the malady itself, and of its deplorable consequences, it is natural to proceed to another question. Why is it that the country which dislikes theology most should be the one most afflicted with theological controversy? The answer is to be found in the peculiar character of the Established Church, which leads to two results—the first being, that discussion can never, in it, arrive at any result; the second being, that circumstances render exclusiveness essential to the theological position of the contending parties, and consequently, that the right to differ can only be acknowledged as an abstraction. If in the Catholic Church disputes arise respecting matters hitherto undefined, the method by which, in the Divine Science, investigations are to be carried on, and conclusions reached, is as well known as the method for prosecuting enquiry in any department of natural science. The ingenuity of self-will may prolong the struggle; and even when error has been formally condemned by the Church, equivocators may for a time rejoin that the condemned propositions are, of course, false, but that the books to which they are ascribed do not really contain them. Such arts, however, cannot long avail. They fail as they failed in the case of Jansenism. Men of good will and common sense have had the guidance which man needs, and have used it; and the contumacious may make a schism *from* the Church, but cannot long maintain one *in* it. The Catholic councils, and the decisions of the Holy See have ever constituted a plain and practical mode by which the allegations of heretics could be tested; and the result has been that, new de-

nials having produced new definitions, the strongest efforts made by the enemies of Truth have tended only to place it before men in a clearer light. That the contest has often been protracted through the perverseness of individuals, no one denies. Such evils have been accidental and transient: they have arisen from abnormal circumstances; they have been, obviously, not illustrations of the Church's ordinary working, but irregularities and exceptions. A caviler may, if he pleases, fix his regard on them alone: but in so doing he resembles one who can see in the sun nothing but its spots, in the orbits of the planets nothing but their perturbations, in science nothing but its destructive applications, in art nothing but its sensualities, in monarchy nothing but its disputed successions, in law nothing but the transgressions that "come by the law." "But," it will be said, "compare England, not with Catholic, but with Protestant countries. Why should she suffer more than Denmark, Sweden, and Norway...nay, than Germany, the birth-place of the Reformation, a land singularly addicted to speculation, and even to theology; but in which the same ground is not gone over every year; in which theology means something besides controversy, and controversy itself can be carried on without social fermentation?"

The answer to this question is to be found in the fact that in Germany there exists, if little of orthodoxy, at least much of plain dealing in theology. The principle of authority being discarded, that of private judgment rules in its place. Erastianism has often, indeed, interfered with it; and to the present day a theological sovereign of a fiercely constructive character, may amuse himself, when not better employed in building on the old foundations at Cologne, with piecing together two half Churches, and rearing one complete "Church of the Future." It is, however, a thing well understood that systems which do not even pretend to ecclesiastical sanction can have no weight in foro conscientiae; and a subscription merely external and negative has not reality enough about it to excite any profound feeling. Private judgment, then, rules in Protestant Germany, and has ruled long enough to carry out its principles with consistency. Now, a private judgment which may deal as it likes with the meaning of the Bible, is, of course, entitled to deal equally freely with its text. Theology must therefore become, in the main, a question of biblical criticism...a matter into which science, like au-

thority, can hardly enter, and disputes relative to which are as deficient in dignity as the learned Billingsgate of the classical commentators. Again, private judgment, when actually realized, must claim to decide not merely as to the meaning and the text of sacred Scripture, but likewise as to its inspiration, and consequently as to the degree in which it is authoritative. Those who retain most of that orthodoxy which exists even in Protestant countries in consequence of a derided, but of an inevitable, and most merciful *Tradition*, endeavour to stem the current. They strive in vain. Logic, which laughs at the reclamations of logic-haters, as theology does at that of anti-theologians, will have its way. To its iron sceptre a wide region has been committed in the world of thought, and a still larger one in that of action. Individuals may prove outlaws; but among races its laws are carried out with a certainty proportioned to the slowness of the process. It has proved so in this instance. If the individual has to form a creed for himself on the assumption that the Bible is his guide, he must have an equal right to examine the truth of that assumption, and to compare that guide with others which also offer themselves to him. If this doctrine or that doctrine, this or that portion of Holy Scripture is to be rejected because it does not "*find*" the student "at the depths of his being," it will soon appear that there are many whose unenlightened moral sense not only is not "found" by the primary doctrines of Christianity, but revolts from them, and to whom the books of prophets and apostles seem quite as apocryphal as the Deutero-canonical books. If the individual is to be the judge in these matters, the faculty in the individual which sits in the ultimate court of appeal, must be some natural faculty...the endowment or supposed endowment of the race...which has an insight into spiritual things, a commission to test revelation by innate intuitions, and authority to accept as much or as little of that revelation as it pleases, and thus to reproduce philosophy under the specious name of religion. In other words, Transcendentalism, or the philosophy of the pure Reason, must ever eventually substitute its Rational inspiration for the Supernatural inspiration of the Puritan, and must become the "dernière analyse" of private judgment. But Transcendentalism is of too aerial, as biblical criticism is of too dusty a character, to enkindle any very prolonged con-

tests, except those of the most abstruse and scholastic sort. Where taste is practically the court of judgment, and caprice the arbiter, controversy finds rest in the adage, "*de gustibus non est disputandum.*" Where private judgment is really, as well as nominally, the rule, the field becomes too large to allow controversialists to grapple with each other. They have no common principles, standards, or even ideas; and their "views" become as incapable of being mutually compared as sounds and colours are. Neither is there any reason why agreement should be sought for. Opinion has set up as a chartered libertine; and heresy and schism are things as impossible as violations of property are among the races without the rudiments of civilization.

Very different are the circumstances of England. The Reformation which, on the Continent, was a popular revolt, in England took its rise in tyranny and state-craft. Abroad, the infection began with the masses, and ascended to the higher classes. In England it began with a monarch, monstrous for lusts and blood, and descended through a scale of bribed and sacrilegious nobles to a bewildered and deluded people. In England the schism was perfected before the heresy had begun. Before the slightest pretence had been made to investigate antiquity in search of a lost religion, the supreme article of the organic unity of the Church had already been practically judged and condemned; and a national Church the slave of a despot, himself the slave of his passions, had isolated itself and integrated itself in defiance of Christendom. The ancient Church and State of England found representatives in Cardinal Fisher, and the noble-hearted Chancellor, More; through them protested, and with them died. The Church, or rather Caliphate of Henry pretended to orthodoxy; and in a convocation presided over by Cranmer, as solemn a one, assuredly, as any subsequently held, it re-affirmed the chief articles of the Catholic faith, and denounced the doctrines of the Protestants. In Edward's time Puritanism entered into it; in Elizabeth's time a quasi-orthodoxy returned; and ever since the two spirits have wrestled in the same body. This is the reason for the state of things which we witness and have witnessed. Anglican theology has been a succession of whirlpools, not an advancing or receding tide. It has neither, like the Catholic teaching, flowed up higher and higher by the walls of the city of God; nor like the

German neology dropped down with a "facilis descensus" to the sea of unbelief. In the Anglican Church a creed and a set of articles are not, as in most Protestant communions, either historic accidents or merely ornamental appendages: they are things which must, in theory at least, *be believed*; for that Church is a traditional and quasi-authoritative body; and they constitute its traditional teaching. As a polity that Church aspired to be a miniature Rome; as an Academy its chairs were occupied by Protestants; in both relations it remains dogmatic, and its dogmas refuse to coalesce. Its map is covered over with lines of demarcation as close as those that divide our fields and farms; and in each case to trifle with them is to transgress the holy bounds of property, and to provoke the wrath of a legal God terminus. It is easy to recommend liberality, and declaim against punctilio: but no one will surrender a gate (though without a lock) which is identical with a right, or a pathway which commands the sole access to a mill.

Private judgment in some form, disguised or undisguised, must ever, of course, be the alternative where the opposite rule of faith is not unequivocally maintained; but, notwithstanding, the Anglican Church has never fully and frankly committed itself to that rule of Faith. The consequence is that disputes in her communion are not at once cut short, or rendered ridiculous by the obvious absurdity of forcing persons to think alike who, with the same Scriptures and the same rule of interpretation, insist on making different inferences from them. English clergymen are to teach exclusively what is in Holy Scripture; but they are also to teach only what has actually been found in Scripture by the ancient bishops and fathers! Very good; but who is to determine what doctrine the fathers and early bishops found in Scripture, and what they did not find? Again, The creeds are to be recognised as an authentic summary of divine truths, and as such are authoritative; but on the other hand, this eminence is only accorded to them because their statements can be proved by 'the sure warrant of Scripture!' Just so; but proved *in whose estimation*, since, of course, a different judgment has ever been pronounced by the heretics who reject those creeds? Who is competent to compare the creeds with Holy Scripture? The individual? Then private judgment sits in the last court of appeal, and

has an equal right to accept old creeds, or to construct new ones. The Anglican Church? But she admits that she is but part of the Church, and a part at variance with other parts, as well as with most Protestant bodies. Such a claim on her part, then, is at once to repudiate all special title to *divine* guidance, and yet to require on the part of Englishmen a submission to an authoritative teaching, which is confessedly no more than the traditions of men. It is not necessary to enquire here which of these alternatives is reconcileable with consistency, or conscientiousness. It is sufficient to point out that where a double rule of faith exists, a double faith must be the inevitable consequence; and that where the dogmatic principle is thus acknowledged, but acknowledged in opposite forms, a double faith must produce endless controversies.

The disputes of late years have proved, if nothing else, at least this, that the contending schools are disputing about views which, in the anomalous and unprecedented circumstances of Anglican theology, do not admit of being even compared, owing to the lack of any common measure. The question is not merely what is the true interpretation of the rubric, but whether the rubric be authoritative, or is not? The articles, again, have received many interpretations:—can any one determine which is the true one? If not, can any one discover a principle by which such a determination may at any time become possible? Even to this question there are opposite answers. Most persons perhaps maintain as a canon for the interpretation of the articles, that their true meaning is that which corresponds with the “intention of the Imponens.” But who is the Imponens? The bishop who ordained the theological enquirer? Then the articles must have at least twenty-seven different meanings, and the differences between them in the dioceses of Canterbury and Exeter must be very striking. Or the bishops who drew up the articles? But they have been altered many times; and it is not easy to find out the concurrent intention of men who lived three centuries ago, and amongst whom it is possible that even less similarity of opinion prevailed than exists among the bishops now living. Many of the reforming prelates changed their minds several times, backwards and forwards; and the most conspicuous of them, Cranmer, was, when secretly a Protestant, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury according to the Catholic Rite, and on the day



of his consecration made a secret statement that it was out of deference to the necessity of the time that he professed a faith and took oaths in opposition to his real belief. Between his trial and execution he recanted his Protestant Faith five or six times, and ended by recanting his recantations. Several others of the reforming bishops were alternately Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans of the Genevan Platform:—so that, at this distance of time, not only does it seem a hard thing to ascertain what was that body of doctrine which they held collectively, but what doctrines, respecting the numerous subjects defined in the Thirty-nine Articles were entertained by any one of them at a given time. Some have said that the true “*Imponens*,” is the convocation. But which convocation? The last that sat, or the first which confirmed the articles as they now stand? If the first, what power had it to bind subsequent convocations? If the last that sat, were not its diversities of opinion so great as to cause the suppression of convocation? Is the Sovereign the “*Imponens*?” But what if the Sovereign be a child, a woman, or an anti-theological person, who has neither gone through study, nor arrived at conclusions? Is Parliament the “*Imponens*?” But Parliament has ceased to be a Church of England assembly:—it is a perpetually changing body; and it has not yet taken to theologising in a direct form. Its “*intention*” would therefore be an obscure subject for investigation. The most “*probable opinion*” that could be formed on this subject would be that Parliament intends the articles to be as comprehensive as possible;—an intention which of course favours the use, by all schools equally of the “*non-natural*” method of interpretation.

The Gorham decision practically establishes this view: and this circumstance will perhaps be found eventually a yet more important consequence of it than others which excited more interest at the time. If a man may use the Baptismal service, with its “*seeing that this child is regenerate*,” &c., and yet deny the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration, it is plain that he can only use it in a non-natural sense. If he uses the Athanasian Creed, and yet denies the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, or subscribes the Thirty-nine Articles, and yet declaims about Christianity not being dogmatic, or places his hand on the head of a candidate for Holy Orders, with

the words "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office of Priest;—whosoever's sins thou remittest they are remitted," &c., and yet denies the doctrine of the Priesthood:—in all these cases alike the non-natural interpretation is practically the one used. If Evangelicals, or disciples of the Broad School use it without acknowledging that they do so, this circumstance only proves that they have not the sincerity of Puseyites, who use it and acknowledge it. But the Gorham judgment affirmed a principle wider still. It based itself on the wonderful statement that the whole English Prayer Book, except so far as it is ratified by the articles, is to be considered as a standard of devotion, but not of doctrine! Now, as every one knows, the High Church School from the beginning based its theology on the Prayer-Book, as the Puritans based theirs on the articles, and rested on the ancient and well-known principle, "*Legem credendi statuat lex supplicandi.*" The decision, therefore, of the court of ultimate appeal has in this matter had two remarkable and opposite effects. It not only concedes, but greatly extends, the Puseyite principle of non-natural interpretation—a principle the practical benefits of which must of course be accorded to High-Churchmen as well as to Mr. Gorham. It, at the same time, eviscerates of obligatory doctrine that Prayer-Book which is their theological armoury. So far as it has authority it at once demolishes their theological position, and effectually underprops their actual standing ground within the establishment, so long as they choose to occupy it. Of course it remains another question, whether that court be authoritative or not. If it be, then, on all Church principles the Anglican Church has contradicted the Nicene creed. If it be not, no bishop has any power of repressing any heresy that his clergy may preach; and the Anglican Church has therefore no power of witnessing against falsehood and for truth. Into this, however, it is not necessary to enter. It is sufficient to have shown that while the Church of England is at once dogmatic and non-representative; while she at once enforces subscription, and maintains unintelligible formularies; while she denounces "Heresy and Schism," and binds her prelates by oath to "drive away all false doctrine;" and yet adopts no real canon for the elucidation, whether of the Bible, of antiquity, or of her own definitions; so long does she provoke contests which she can never appease, cover the field of faith

with stones of offence, and ensnare her children in controversies, which, in the absence of any guiding principle, do not admit even of a possible or approximate solution.

The foregoing remarks have been made for the purpose of explaining a special characteristic of the Anglican Church, not with any desire to pronounce upon her general claims compared with those of other Protestant communities. It is to facts that we have referred. Those facts have by some been considered as highly creditable to the Establishment. We do not discuss that matter. Our object has been to show that from certain facts connected with the structure and history of the Established Church, whether creditable or the contrary, there arise certain consequences affecting social peace. It does not follow from this that the Church in question is inferior to other Protestant bodies, considered in larger relations. On the contrary, their comparative exemption from such troubles may proceed from their organization being of a lower, though of a less heterogeneous order. Acephalous animals can never suffer from headache; but this exemption does not place them above animals which have heads. So likewise communities which have practically repudiated all traditional or scientific principles in theology may advance, without much bitterness of controversy, along that way which ends in the subversion of all belief; but no one can infer that such an exemption from trouble is necessarily a thing to be proud of. From what we have said it would indeed follow that of all systems the Anglican is the least consistent; but inconsistency may result from having retained, amid many errors, some exalted truths, rejected by more consistent heresy...truths which refuse to make peace with error. In every system except that of the Church there is a fatal inconsistency somewhere or other. No matter how little be admitted of revelation, that little is inconsistent with what is denied; and it matters little whether the link that has a flaw in it be found high up or low down in the chain. Let the Church of England work out her destinies uninterrupted; thus only can the lesson of history be complete. We are not taking her measure considered as a whole. Throw in a great nation as pedestal to the statue, and her stature is imposing. She has many attractions; nor do we wish to bring against her any railing accusation.

We must protest, however, against the opposite habit in

which some of her children indulge...that of deluding themselves with an ideal image of her. From this ideal everything is excluded that affronts the Idol of Nationalism. Her inconsistencies? Each is to be accounted for by a separate piece of special pleading! Parliaments? They but made spoil of the "liberties" they affected to vindicate. Heretical bishops? These were not her reformers, but her scourges! A Liturgy never at rest? It was almost always changing for the better! A history made up of scandals? Providence brought her through all! Her isolation? She never separated from the Catholic body; or, she separated from most excellent reasons! Her diversities of doctrine? They but prove her charity! Her subjection to the State? It shows her patience! Her lack of influence with the poor? It is that her clergy are all gentlemen and scholars! Her spiritual unfruitfulness? It is a proof that her most eminent gifts and graces are yet to come!

Those who thus shut their eyes to the painful part of the picture deal equally delusively with the portion on which they fix their eyes. They explore the history of the last three centuries, collect together everything that is beautiful, striking, or picturesque; and out of the spoils of scattered years compose a whole, which to their fancy is ever present. Hooker is always their type of the recluse pastor. Their bishop is always kneeling in his oratory, and bedewing Greek devotions with the tears of Andrews. An ever present Wilson is in prison for reviving the discipline of his diocese; and an expected Laud is ever waiting for the martyr's crown. If they seldom think of the priests who for centuries together said mass in holes and corners, on rainy moors, or behind the sliding panels of old manor-houses, they never forget the Anglican clergy, who, during the brief storm of Puritan ascendancy, were faithful to the Book of Common Prayer:—for them each hamlet is skirted by a "golden grove," in which a Taylor responds to St. Francis de Sales, or echoes his song;—for them the whole Anglican Church is scented by the carnations and musk-roses that grew in the garden of Herbert. Against a view on both sides alike so partial, we must protest, because it is a delusion, and because in religion, which is the Kingdom of Truth, delusions, if self-willed, are fatal, and never more fatal than when a loyalty that errs from its right object converts itself into an illicit

affection and a perpetual bondage. To surrender freedom of thought without gaining a guidance that can be, or claims to be divine is as stupid a blunder as if a man, proud of domesticity, were to go up to a room at the top of his house, lock the door, and throw the key out of the window. Such is the effect of reasoning with the affections or imagination, and thus serving a human master in sacred things.

To realize the special characteristics in the Church of England, to which we have referred for the purpose of accounting for the two remarkable facts that she has always been an arena of theological controversy, and that theology in her never advances to results, it is necessary but to look back on her history. That history is a chronicle of great intellectual efforts without progress, and of moral strivings, which have ended in beating the air. Genuine history is ever a development in time of that which from the first existed in principle. In Anglican theology the names of great principles have been retained, and have served as watchwords in battle; but those principles have either not existed in that purity which is their life, or have been so confused by contradictory principles, that to work them out has ever been the old story of Penelope's web. First one school runs a-head; as a necessary consequence a reaction takes place, and the opposite school has the advantage. Exhausted, they lie down to sleep side by side: and when they waken, the same battle re-commences with the same results. "How is it," theological students ask, "that the Church of England, with all its learned men, never produces a systematic body of divinity?" Because, it must be answered, the longer it thinks, the more impossible does it find it to ascertain what it holds and what it does not hold. It is full of forces; but forces without law make chaos. The greater its energies the greater its confusions; for there is in it no planetary power to modulate its movements. Gravitation enters not into its sphere; and it can find rest only through its "*vis inertiae*," or from that superincumbent weight of the State which is really endured only because it is needed. We cannot more completely evince our desire to avoid all that savours of unfairness or harshness in this enquiry than by illustrating the above remarks not by reference to the first or the last post-reformation century, but to the far-famed seventeenth. The sixteenth century was the period of scandals, when doc-

trines, no two years the same, received their only significant comment from the falling roofs of abbeys and the violated shrines of Cathedrals. Let it pass. The eighteenth century was the torpidity of death, and the peace of the grave. Let it too be forgotten. But the seventeenth century was something better. The period of convulsion had passed; the conservative tendencies so deeply rooted in England, had had time to re-assert themselves; and the period of restoration had begun. There was peace again in the Universities; and old halls, and libraries, and chapels were forced into the service of the new learning. The court was in part religious, and wholly High Church. Every effort was made to give the experiment fair play; and men in far lands waited to see whether a paper Church could work like one of flesh and blood. What did it produce? A Literature. What did it bequeath? A Revolution. The Restoration took place. The wheel had gone round. Conscientious Puritans gave up their livings, and conscientious Episcopalians reaped the just reward of tried fidelity. Men of virtue again occupied the pulpits, and men of learning the chairs of the universities and the episcopal thrones. The learning of the time was nothing narrow, technical, or professional; the clergy were patriots and men of honour, as well as devout men; the nation was tired of its recent madness, and disposed to accept with gratitude any credible creed that could be proposed to it. What was the end? Corruption of morals, Latitudinarianism, and infidelity. Very able books had been written, and that was all. The best English eloquence took its rise in the form of sermons; the best English philosophy appeared in the volumes of Cudworth, More, and the Platonic divines; beautiful religious poetry accompanied it. All the adjuncts and ornaments of theology were there in abundance. Theology alone was absent. Its substance had been annihilated; the species alone remained. And why? Because the substance of theology is truth; and truth cannot maintain itself except in its fulness and its purity; and these cannot exist apart from principles at once scientific and simple, a consistent *method* of reasoning, and a sure basis for faith. From the Church of the seventeenth century England inherits theological libraries, but not a theology. It is in the humbler walks of divinity, and in meaner times that she has produced the works of most permanent value.



The value of her temperate and careful labours in some departments of biblical criticism, as well as of her works on Evidences, is acknowledged by foreigners. Not one of her own children, if we ascend to the higher walks of theology, can tell us whether a true exponent of English orthodoxy is to be found in Jewel, the episcopal Puritan, or Laud, the Anglican Pope; in the non-conformists, who would not accept a fragment of Rome as their national Church; or in those of the non-jurors, who preferred to separate even from their non-juring brethren, rather than lend their countenance to a Church which had renounced antiquity, and would not mix water with the Eucharistic cup.

It can hardly indeed have escaped the observation of the most vehement admirers of the Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century that they had a weak side as well as a strong side. They were strong against Dissenters, at least against the later Dissenters...strong, not when they met them on Ecclesiastical grounds, (for not having the true doctrine of the unity of the Church, they lacked the key-stone of the Ecclesiastical Argument,) but when they assailed their splenetic denials with authorities taken from antiquity. They were strong in moral declamation; expert in controversial fence; and in their devotional works there is occasionally a depth and tenderness which bear to the writings of the Saints an analogy like that of an engraving to a picture, and which profoundly impress all who know not how deeply they are indebted for their writings on such subjects to the stores of that Church which they so bitterly reviled. In the meantime the weak side of the more learned Anglican Divines was their controversy with Rome. On that field the "giants" suddenly became pigmies, and scholars degenerated into railers. They made up, each for himself, a Lawyer's plea in defence of the Anglican Isolation: but no one agreed with his neighbour's "view" on this momentous subject. In proportion as the pleader was learned and aspired after orthodoxy, his statements on the subject of the Church were such as, in the estimate of the more Protestant part of the community, let in the edge of the Roman wedge, and admitted premises, the conclusions legitimately drawn from which must prove as fatal to Reformers who discarded, at least, the whole Western Church of the sixteenth century, as to Dissenters who abandoned the Anglican State-Church of the seventeenth century. Witness as

strongly as they might against the Mother of Souls, yet the "witnesses agreed not in their testimony." One boldly affirmed that they had left the Western Church because, for "eight hundred years and more," it had been "drowned in Idolatry, the sin of all others most hateful to God,"...a charge which of course extended itself equally to the Eastern Christianity. A second shrank from such a statement, as implying that God had forsaken his Church during far the longer period of its existence, and as leading necessarily to the conclusion that if the whole Church had been allowed to remain in error for eight hundred years, so a separated and minute portion of it might also, while endeavouring to reform itself, fall into error and remain in blindness. His statement was a more moderate one, asserting that the "Anglican Church" had left that of Rome because the Papal Pretensions were wholly an imposture, substituting a human for a divine Head of the Church. A third maintained that "we had never separated"...God forbid, but had simply been excommunicated and cast out, because, though we did not dispute the Primacy of St. Peter's See, we could not submit to the exaggerated claims of later Popes, and the exactions of the "*Court of Rome.*" A fourth was in favour of the absolute authority inherent in each distinct National Church; and therefore branded dissenters as schismatics, while the State persecuted them as such: but he could find no reason why the Church in France or Spain did not possess an equal privilege. A fifth believed in authority; but in an authority which, far from being a check on Private Judgment, hopelessly extended its sphere. Do not bind yourself, he said, by the definitions of any living Church; for, as many Churches have fallen, so each in turn may fall; and since even "a General Council may err," much more may the articles of a special community. Go then to the Fathers, and interpret Holy Scripture by the unanimous voice of antiquity as your safest guide. But the misfortune was that antiquity refused to present its verdict in this compendious form; that Rome, the Greek Communities, and every Protestant body, claimed "the earliest and purest antiquity" as on their side; and that it was more difficult for the ignorant to master a hundred books than one only. A sixth, and the most clear-sighted of all, threw himself on a principle which was at least intelligible and consistent, and said, "I affirm Private

Judgment pure and simple, and the Bible the Religion of Protestants. In fundamental points it is plain enough, and every man of Good Will shall have the teaching of the Spirit." But it is not possible for man to force "a new constitution" on God who has already given us His Covenant with His Conditions. The most precious of books continued to be the obscurest in spite of bravura phrases and bold assumptions...and that even because it is the most precious. Those who were loudest about Fundamentals, could never decide what doctrines were and were not fundamental, or what was the true meaning of those admitted by all to be among the number. The most different opinions respecting matters affirmed to be "fundamental" were vehemently urged by men all praying for divine illumination, and believing themselves to be men of good will...one man rejecting the Papal Unity, another the Visible Church, a third five of the Sacraments, another all the seven, another the Trinity, and at last, in Germany, the Bible itself as an Inspired Document. In a word, it turned out that the facts would not accommodate themselves to the theory; that it was a questionable compliment to the Bible to affirm that it was so shallow a stream that every one could wade across it; that as little do we honour the Holy Spirit by saying that any one who chooses to isolate himself from the Communion of the Brethren has only to pray for grace and rise up a Prophet; that the Bible becomes intelligible only through that Spirit Who inspired it; that that Spirit is given as an illuminating power to the Church alone; and that to the Individual He communicates Himself as an influence in the heart only so long as the individual keeps the "Unity of the Spirit" by abiding in that "one Body" which is the Temple of the Spirit, and which we are therefore commanded to "hear."

Not only did the writers of the seventeenth century differ from each other on all those cardinal points, the moment they engaged in the Catholic Controversy, but each differed as much from himself as from his neighbour: and almost all the opinions to which reference has been made can be justified by citations from different works of the same author. Let us take but a single instance. Dr. Barrow's celebrated work on the Pope's Supremacy may be regarded as a summary of all that had preceded it on that subject, being also the ablest of all. What does it

consist of? Hundreds of legal *points*, cleverly, but captiously put against the Catholic Theory of the Church...each of them inconsistent with its neighbour. Now, the argument is, that St. Peter had no superiority over his brother Apostles, St. Paul even reproving him to his face; now, that his primacy was special to him, and was not inherited by his successors in the Roman See; now, that the Headship of the Church is Christ's only; now, that the Popes might be borne with but for their exorbitances; now that St. Peter never was in Rome. We have heard of an aged litigant who being prosecuted by a neighbour, desired her lawyer to put in on her behalf the following triple plea...first, that the holes were in the borrowed kettle before she had borrowed it; secondly, that the kettle had never been borrowed; thirdly, that at the time she returned it there was not a single hole to be seen in it! Surely this controversialist must have been a student of Dr. Barrow's "Pope's Supremacy." Let us leave, however, these peccadilloes of detail. How does Dr. Barrow *map out* the question, and reply to the Catholic argument? First, he assumes, as the authentic delineation of the Church, her character and her claims, the statements on those subjects made by one of her schools, the Ultramontane, instead of seeking it in her authoritative definitions...thus constituting a sophism and misrepresentation the very groundwork of his whole argument. Next he separates each citation from the Fathers bearing on these subjects from the rest; ignoring the cumulative force of all taken collectively; reducing the meaning of each to the least meaning that it may possibly bear; and then flinging each aside as irrelevant, because the *whole* of the Papal Theory cannot be established by each separate *part* of the evidence adduced in its support. Lastly, he gleans in the wide field of Catholic history for scandals which necessarily exasperate the prejudices of Protestants, and which might legitimately intensify their opinions also, were those opinions already fairly formed; but which, in the meanwhile (those opinions being themselves the matters under examination) can have no place in the discussion, except a rhetorical one; those scandals, whether true or false, relating to individuals only, for whom the Catholic Theory claims, as such, no infallibility, much less the slightest approach to impeccability. And in the meantime what is the theory of the Church and its divine organ-

ization which this great writer puts forward in opposition to the Catholic? No one can discover it. He has no theory because he has a hundred. Whatever argument came to hand was good enough as a point in a legal pleading. The very same circumstance made it impossible for his work to have any value as a consistent theological, or even philosophical statement. As an armoury against Rome, it is resorted to equally by Tractarians, high and dry writers, Establishmentarians, Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, Dissenters, and even Infidels. This is the consequence of writing a book bristling with points, and abounding in talent, but wholly destitute, not only of a definite system, but even of a fundamental Idea.

Some ingenious reasoners have tried to twist a defect of the gravest order into a merit, and have said, "The old English divines were no system-mongers; their views were too large for that." "System" in their mouth means the "doctrine" of their adversaries; and "doctrine" means their own "system." Not to know what the Church is, and to assert at random, or as the needs of a changing position require, a number of contradictory statements respecting it—making it visible or invisible, as it suits us, and affirming its unity to be moral only when defending ourselves against Rome, and to be organic and sacramental also, when assailing dissenters—is simply to hold *no doctrine* on the subject, and yet to pretend that we hold a certain article of the Creed, when we have no faith respecting the meaning of that article. If such an adhesion to that article be sufficient, must not an analogous mode of holding the article on "one Baptism" be sufficient also;—and what right can men have to brand as insincere, Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, or Gorhamites, who accept that article, and only claim exemption from that particular interpretation of it which they stigmatize as the "system" of narrow-minded Tractarians and deluded Romanists? Anglicans require orthodoxy on "Baptism," and Latitudinarianism on "the Church." So it has been from the beginning of that religious Revolution, called in the language of the Protestant tradition, the "Reformation." What was the systematic doctrine of the "great divines of the seventeenth century" on the Church? *Simply they had none.* It was impossible for them to have any, because their unhappy task was to reconcile principles, many of them Catholic, with a standing-ground and history exclusively

Protestant. To have decided in favour of the "Invisible Church" would have rendered all obedience impossible, and accelerated the process of dissolution and separation. To have defined the matter theologically in favour of national Churches would have justified every Church in Europe, and none in Asia. To have asserted, as modern High Churchmen do, the *necessity* of Episcopacy and the Succession, would have unchurched almost all Protestant communities except the English. What, then, was their theory? It was a bundle of compromises, conditions, exceptions, and conclusions turned back against their premises. It was everything and it was nothing.

Was their theology, then, *Latitudinarian*? By no means. Latitudinarianism, though a superficial and hollow, is comparatively a consistent thing. But then a Latitudinarian theory can be accepted only by Latitudinarians; and the Anglican Church was obliged to include equally Latitudinarians, Puritans, and half-Catholics. Its system, therefore, could only be that of Latitudinarianism, with the semblance of exclusiveness. There is an infinite difference between *Comprehensiveness* and *Equivocation*. The former endeavours to include many individuals within the same community by means of reducing to a minimum the number of doctrines assent to which is required. The latter effects the same object by means of an interpretation at once *ambiguous* and *exclusive*. The former is Latitudinarianism; the latter is Mystification. The former gains its object by having few *definitions*, the latter by allowing a loop-hole for countless *interpretations*. The ambiguity to which we have referred, as characterizing the Anglican Rule of Faith, developed, as Anglican Theology was forced into form, into a system of Equivocation disguised as Comprehensiveness. Puritans are exclusive; Popery, according to them, is idolatry, and the sacramental system is Popery in disguise. High-Church doctrine is exclusive; it counts the sacraments among the things essential; and it stigmatizes as heresy a departure from primitive definitions, and as schism a departure from the Church. Now, these exclusive systems are mutually opposed; and neither could find its place in a system that professed to be latitudinarian, and left disputed points undefined. How, then, were the two parties held together in the seventeenth century? By means of equivocal formularies, made double, like doors so



constructed that they may be pushed open either to right or left, while, the moment one has entered, they fall back of themselves and close again in one. The whole system, the result of compromises made from day to day, bore the same character. It had its "verily and indeed present" for the High Churchman, and its "feed on Him *by faith*" for the Puritan, whose theory would not suffer him to admit anything more than a subjective presence to the believer. Yet each party asserted, and was forced by its principles to assert, not that its view was *one of several views all alike permitted, and none exclusively sanctioned*; but that its view was *the doctrine of the Anglican Church as well as of the Bible*; that no other was sanctioned by either; and that its adversary held his place, not by the liberality of the Church (for it never can be true charity to palter with essential truths) but through his own insincerity or perverseness, through relaxation of discipline, or through some unhappy accident of the time, to be mended as soon as possible. The same system of equivocation applied to countless doctrines, but especially to that which relates to the Church. Opposites were to be comprehended; but no one was to admit the principle of latitude. Private judgment was to be asserted by one, and Church authority by another; and as these contradictories can meet in no middle term (since a man must either be guided by the judgment of his Church, or sit in judgment over her, whatever relation he may claim with antiquity,) each was to be allowed to assert that the other was a heretic in disguise; and all was well so long as both remained practically and passively obedient to a Church of which no two gave the same account, and of which no individual could form a coherent idea. Submission was the thing necessary; not a recognition of the duty of submission: acquiescence was required, not faith. A statement was included for every taste, and an escape was provided for every scruple. Necessity, let us hope, rather than conscious insincerity, was the cause of this tortuous method of proceeding; but the consequences were not therefore modified. The bond of the whole was *evasion*, not charity; the essence of the whole was equivocation, not toleration; the result of the whole was confusion, not congruity...promiscuousness, not the household union of the Church.

As time goes by the difficulty is the same, and is met

in the same way, viz., by *evasion*. The need for evasion becomes greater and greater as succeeding years throw more and more light on a system so arbitrary that it only looks well on paper, though it was only adapted for work of the coarsest order. Two centuries ago the Puritans might still exist on hope. The Reformation had lived but for a century or so, and it had done work. It had re-discovered the Gospel, broken to pieces the idols, cast off the yoke of popery and prelacy, and decapitated superstitious or malignant kings. It was still in the fervour of youth. Its very excesses were but the "sowing of its wild oats:"—it had done much, promised more, and had met with no theological confutation which it was not able to confute in turn with buff jerkin and a steel more trenchant than that which had lined the walls of the star-chamber with the ears of Dissenters. It waited, knowing that that "two-handed axe" waited also. It "placed its trust in providence, and kept its powder dry." And the High Church Party also could afford to wait, and to hope. Learning had again begun to re-assert itself; and the homeliness of Latymer, and the scurrilities of Bale, and the inconsistencies of Cranmer, and the devastations of the first Cromwell and his master...all these things were beginning "to take a sober colouring" from the weather-stains of time, and to look more picturesque than scandalous when contemplated from a distance by the more learned schools and polished courts of Charles or James. No monarch who intended to "unfrock a proud prelate" would have mentioned the circumstance to him publicly at a chance rencontre on a bridge, or boasted aloud in court that "he tuned all the pulpits in England." Catholicism had not then recovered about half the territory she had lost at the first burst of the revolt: neither had she completed those vast conquests of the faith in new regions, which have since laid the foundation of spiritual kingdoms compared with which those she lost were small. In Germany the true character of the revolt had not had time to declare itself. The rejection of the ecclesiastical principle had not yet been followed by the rejection of the dogmatic: and the Bible had not been first torn to pieces by those who professed an exclusive reverence for it, and then thrown aside like a chalice from the hand of one who has drunk to intoxication. It was still just possible to fancy that if German Protestants "had not bishops, it was because they could not have them;" and

to hope that among them, too, there would be a reaction towards order. In England also the problem had not yet been worked out. The question, How do a few dioceses at the north of the channel constitute a distinct and complete Church, any more than an equal number of dioceses taken from both sides of the water?—where is the principle of unity?—and why may not any two or three English bishops dissent from the rest, just as they dissented from the great body of Christendom?—these troublesome questions were in a large measure forestalled, by a certain theory of monarchical power, and the divine right of kings, which enabled an ardent loyalty and an erring imagination to find in the kingly office a pseudo-centre for a miniature Church. The Hebrew monarchy was arbitrarily taken as a type of the Christian; and kings were regarded, less as nursing fathers, and at the same time obedient children of Holy Church, than as mystic authorities, invested with a divine commission, if not to feed the sheep, at least to coerce the shepherds, and, on occasion, to depose chief priests, and pound up brazen serpents into dust. This idea of monarchy gave unity to the Nation, and the Nation gave unity to the Church. The deficiencies in the ecclesiastical theory of government were thus made good by the excesses of the political; and by a support not its own the empty bag was for a time taught to stand.

But time, like fire, tries every man's work what it is, and God's judgment, like frost, searches out and splits up the strongest things, the strength of which is not divine. The fair and majestic disguise fell off by degrees, and a Church, endowed indeed with the wealth of the State, but covered no longer with the garment of a royalty not its own, was gradually reduced to make its cause good on ecclesiastical grounds, or not at all. Kings, like all forms of political government, are accidental; but the Church is essential, and its organization must therefore be such as to lean on no accident for its central support. Reality dispelled the dream. The Revolution of 1688 came; and the theory of the divine right of kings could maintain itself no more...at least in connection with the British monarchy. Episcopacy in Scotland was discarded by the State, and a Presbyterian Church was established:—from that moment the Anglican Church became, by the confession of State and Crown, not the Church of the nation, but of a part of the nation, and the *unity of a nation* no longer supplied

the place of ecclesiastical unity. The change went on. Convocation, the great council of the national Church, and its sole organ for corporate and free action, was abolished, and has remained in abeyance for nearly a century and a half. It could then no longer be maintained that the King was head of the Church, not simply as being head of the State, but as being the head of the nation, and as governing it alike in its civil and spiritual relations—in the one relation ruling through Parliament, in the other through convocation. It became evident that it was as head of the State that he ruled; and therefore that the Church was subject to the State. Gradually the royal function itself changed, and the king became, not the head of the State, but a part of it merely, viz., its executive power. Yet so far from the Church rising, as the monarchy declined, it sank lower and lower; and those great appointments which the kings had once given away with the advice of the bishops, became a portion of ministerial patronage. The change advanced. The minister, who had been partly the choice of the king, partly that of both houses of Parliament, became the nominee practically of the House of Commons, as that House began to engross all substantial power. At last the House of Commons changed also; and in place of consisting exclusively of professed members of the established Church, it included professed Dissenters of every sort; while yet its power over the Church became stronger and stronger. It appointed, virtually, ministers, who suppressed ten bishoprics in one day, and presented colonial bishops, in more cases than one, with patents *during the Sovereign's pleasure*, empowering them to ordain, confirm, &c. It constituted as the highest court of appeal for the decision of doctrine a tribunal consisting of laymen, one of them a Presbyterian. What further progress can be made in the downward course? None, unless Jews as well as Dissenters, are admitted into that House which endows Episcopacy in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Ulster, Brahminism in India, and Buddhism in Ceylon; which till lately bowed down the banner of England before the procession of Juggernaut; which still reverently guards that relic, the tooth of Buddha; but which can find no words to express its indignation when the same great See which twelve hundred years ago sent Augustine to found Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and fourteen hundred

years ago sent St. Patrick to convert the Irish, is guilty again of a similar aggression, and raises up a new Hierarchy in the island so long afflicted and struck down. In a word, the whole system of things had gradually changed. The Church of England could no longer borrow from the majesty of semi-divine kings the Unity and the Sanction which, to a Church, are things absolutely essential. It was forced to fare for itself, and to defend itself with its own weapons. Its difficulties became more and more apparent, as they were examined. What wonder if in the nineteenth century they are met, as we have seen that they were in the seventeenth, by evasion? It is a sad necessity; but even the most ingenuous must either abandon an equivocal position, or yield to its necessities.

The circumstances, then, of modern times have thrown such light on the character and position of the Established Church, that it is equally impossible to make out how it is one with itself, or one with the rest of what it admits to be the Christian Church. "Must it not then," it will be asked, "be simply impossible for a man who holds at once the principle that the Rule of Faith is the Church's interpretation of revealed truth, and again, that the Church is organically One, to find in England any teaching authority at all? And must not this fatal deficiency make an end, at least, of all the controversies connected with the 'High-Church theory?'" By no means. The cardinal difficulty is met, not by real theological argument, but by evasion; and that matter settled, controversies on matters of detail are carried on (as the experience of every day proves) with all the more acrimony because the battle has become a *melée*, and admits neither the dignity nor the discipline of genuine theological discussion. There is nothing new in this position. The Evangelical school has never been driven off the ground of controversy; yet its cardinal difficulty,—“How can you base a religious certainty on the Bible as an authentic book, if you deny wholly the authority of that church from which you receive it,” is met, not by argument, but by a string of evasions and assumptions. The difficulty of the “Broad School” is eluded in the same way; and the essential matter being thus taken for granted, room is opened for an interminable warfare on subordinate questions. Here, as before, we leave the inferior schools unexamined, and test the Anglican church on the ground where she

ought to be strongest, and by the conduct of that school which from its learning, its aspirations, and its self-devotion, is its most considerable, though not its largest, one. That school, more than any other one, boasts a history. In what has that history recently ended? In a guerilla warfare upon a hundred points of detail; the one essential point remaining undefended except by a hundred evasions. That point is, How do you authenticate your ecclesiastical position, and consequently your Teaching Authority?

At the begining of the High-Church revival, twenty years ago, Authority had a substantive meaning. It meant the authority of the existing Church of England. That appeal has been practically answered, as far as a church without representation can answer it, by the fact, that the chief dignitaries of the church, the chief tribunal to which it is subject, and the enormous majority of the nation have declared themselves against the appellants. With circumstances, the meaning of the word authority has changed. It now means the authority of antiquity; that is...of antiquity as interpreted by the individual or by the School. The principle of "private judgment," thus, expelled from the front door, has but made its rounds and come in again by the back door. This is evasion the first.

Again. One of the most important principles of High-Church theology, as long as it remained a *theology*, was its bold appeal to external evidence. It turned in manly scorn from that feeble and effeminate habit of appealing to mere internal feelings, which belongs to dissenting bodies. The feelings, it said, are a fallacious test. They vary with fancy, taste, health, spirits: they are the same in no two individuals, nor in the same individual for two days together. The standard by which you measure truth and falsehood, like that by which you measure right and wrong, must be external to you and above you, as God is: otherwise, it is but your own reflection. Leave it to the Methodists to know that they are forgiven because they feel comfortable and assured. Leave it to the Puritans to keep up the temperature of their souls by intoxicating draughts of delusive confidence. Your standard must be external, objective, immutable,—the creeds of the church, the definitions of councils, the "Written Word," not the "inner word" only, the Written Word as interpreted by the consensus of ages and nations, not by the vagaries of individual fancy—the



Church as recognized by the notes and marks set upon her by her Maker, not by the accidents of place or time, the sanction of kings, the learning and piety of teachers, the experiences of individuals. Such were the principles of the High-Church Theology: but circumstances gradually arose, which made it impossible that such principles should witness in favour of the Church of England; and then, alas, they too were imperceptibly changed for their opposites. Judged by an external standard it became every day more and more difficult to show how the Anglican church possessed, in its completeness, any one of the "notes" which characterize the Church confessed in the Nicene Creed. What arguments, then, have been substituted for these in her defence?

The first of them is a purely subjective one, dependent on individual interpretation of passing and transient events;—that which is called the "signs of life." The candlestick cannot be removed because the Church of England still lives; and the tokens of this life are to be found in the spread of High-Church principles, the revival of confession and absolution, attempts more or less successful to restore the conventual system, an increased reverence for the evangelical counsels as distinguished from the mere precepts of the Gospel, the preaching of the Apostolic Succession, and the sacramental system, the translations of the Fathers, the study of antiquity, improvements in ecclesiastical architecture, the increase of the number of services, and the publication of devotional works deeper and more spiritual than the nation had been long contented with;—or, to say all in one word, the success of Puseyism. That success is, however, accounted for in a dozen different ways by the different schools, religious and irreligious, among us. The Puseyite, the Evangelical, the Philosopher, the Statesman, the Catholic...each has his view of it, and draws from it an inference very different from his neighbour's. Is it not obvious that that inference depends exclusively on the *point of view* from which the success is regarded, and the previous religious bias of those who muse on the phenomenon? What the success of Tractarianism proves to the Evangelicals is the power of the devil, who spreads among us a thick delusion;—the terrible strength of our carnal nature, ever rejoicing in fleshly bonds and the beggarly elements of ordinances which are an abomination to God;—the inadequacy of a

Reformation which did but half its work;—the might of Anti-Christ, and the subtlety of that Babylonian sorceress who when expelled from a house once more made pure, contrived, as Milton complained, to leave behind her, in rubric and ritual, tokens and memorials, gewgaws and love-gifts capable of stirring up the embers of old affection. And to the Latitudinarian what does the success of Tractarianism prove? That man can never rise above his littleness;—that he must needs cramp his mind, as Chinese women cramp their feet, lest it should make any real progress;—that some narrow system, Popish, Puritan, or Puseyite, must ever be the prison of one too ingenious, too superstitious, too bigoted, too cowardly, to be free. And to the infidel what does it prove? That, as long as men believe in revelation at all, an irresistible logic will ever bring them back to the superstitions they had left behind;—that those who insist on receiving the Bible as an inspired and infallible guide, must in consistency find, or fashion to themselves, a Church equally inspired and infallible in order to make their guide available;—that a half-freedom is as futile a thing as a half-faith is in the estimate of theology;—that man can only be free from superstition, dogmatism, and priestcraft, when he shakes off those old-world fancies or traditions about a covenant between God and man, as so much poetry gone astray;—that he should read the Bible as he reads the Iliad, discard the supernatural, recognize his own place in the infinite system of nature, do bravely his day's work in the day, and fling aside speculation as he flung aside his corals. And to the Erastian Statesman what does it prove? That the clergy will ever be the same when they can;—that they will always be embroiling the State with education disputes at home, or ecclesiastical aggression from abroad;—that if they get an inch they will take an ell;—that if indulged in so much as a surplice, they will try to turn it into an alb; if allowed a clerk's reading desk they will metamorphose it into a confessional;—that the pride of their order will ever make them revive old mummeries that work on the imagination;—that they want to have their whisper in every court, and their foot on every floor;—that out of the restless speculations of a busy idleness they will ever be spinning cobwebs to catch flies;—that out of enthusiasm and a homeless imagination they will ever be raising fabrics which, in the

language of the Gods, may be called retreats for the cultivation of supernatural virtue, but which, in that of men, will be known as the fortresses of superstition ;—that the only chance of keeping the clergy human is to make them rich, and help them to wives ; that learning is dangerous, and that the study of the Fathers tends but to put thoughts into young clergymen's heads ; that if you would prevent bishops from becoming Pontiffs, you must keep them in the House of Lords and on the platforms, feed them to repletion with temporal gifts...such as "send leanness into the soul"...and give them so much to do as will leave no time for meditation. "The time had already learned its need," the Erastian will say, "when Tractarianism came in, and substituted the green sickness of ecclesiastical aspirations for the zeal of men intent on religious works. You have corrupted the imagination of your country, bewildered its reason, and you will end by breaking up its institutions. If we expel you we shall have another schism ; if we let you go on we shall have a series of exfoliations to Rome. Our chance is in the discreet use of patronage, and in the rising up of some new folly capable of superseding yours. That would be a sign of life ;—as for your chaunts, mysticisms, and incantations, they are signs of death."

And the Catholic...how will he interpret the success of Tractarianism ? After a very old fashioned manner. He will say, "God taught you as he teaches all who will learn. Make the most of what you have, and what you lack shall be supplied to you. His mercy abated the work of destruction. The monasteries were pulled down ; they harbour but the bird and the insect ; they preach but of mutability and decay. But the cathedrals remained. Their old towers were asylums in which thoughts of nobler song than thrush or night-bird built their nests. They preached of permanence and of restoration. Your Prayer-Book contained good and holy things, like other books of extracts. As you pondered its deeper meaning, you sought a comment *in the context* ; then the Missal and Breviary poured forth their abundant rivers into those narrower channels, and beckoned the world-weary to the 'forest of their Carmel.' Great but merciful judgments taught you to 'put not your trust in princes.' You learned your lesson. You lifted up your eyes to the hills, whence cometh salvation, and taught that the Apostolicity, not the sanction of the

State, is the basis of the Church. To him that had was given; and how many have already been led by the doctrine of the Apostolic succession to the Apostolic See... the golden clasp which holds the episcopal girdle together, and binds it round the Church! Creeds taught you that it was necessary to believe creeds in their true meaning. Your Church told you that she knew not that meaning; but you persevered. You had the major and the minor premiss:—you drew the conclusion; and how many have already, because they insisted on knowing and maintaining the true meaning of one article of the creed that on Baptism) discovered in all the others a divine depth which before they never had suspected. How many, after their submission, have acknowledged in glad humility that till then they had never understood the Communion of Saints, the Incarnation, the Trinity... nay, that till they were Catholics, they knew but half what it is to be a Theist! You learned from your Liturgy that even God's children, and those most in His favour, may not only be taught by suffering, but '*justly punished*' for their offences. You learned, then, that sin, though forgiven, has a temporal penalty attached to it; you began to bring forth accordingly worthy fruits of penance; and to how many of you did not Purgatory ere long become intelligible! You called to mind the Saints as your ancestors in the Church; and they by their prayers won for you such grace that you learned to look on them as living presences, and as God's instruments to you for good; for God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. You began by believing that, as God is the Truth, so Christianity must be dogmatic: ere long you learned that all dogmas are but parts or manifestations of that one stupendous Verity which lives ever, through the Holy Spirit, in the heart of the Church; which is defined as man's need requires, and as God's Providence permits; and of which one must explicitly or implicitly possess the whole, or possess no part except in shadow. Your tradition about fundamental truths accordingly fell off from you, like a chrysalis; and you learned that all Revealed Truth is essential, and that each person must be in a condition to confess all parts of it with equal certainty, if challenged by the aggressions of error. You had the heart to believe in a supernatural life—you founded quasi-convents; and of your half-nuns, how many have given up playing with sanctity, and have gone and served there, where

Obedience is a possibility! You rode on; and your right hand taught you. You were found faithful in little things, and how many have been made Lords, and (more blessed still) servants in great things!"

"Is it so wonderful," the Catholic will proceed, "that God should be with you, when he came to visit you, and search you? God is with you, and calls you, as on the Patriarch of old, to come forth. He is not therefore with your Communion as a Church, and he does not therefore bid you to abide. Is it not a fact that if the 'Catholic movement' came from God, many among the chief of those whom God raised up to head it have already declared, not in word only, but in act, that the great providential purpose of that movement was to lead men to Rome? Does not every single party in the State, and school in the Church, except your own, regard Tractarianism as the 'stepping stone to Popery?' Do not all men of the world, and indifferent persons think the same? and do not foreign nations corroborate their judgment? That there are signs of life in *you* is what we affirm, not deny. The Establishment doubtless has its life too, or it must have long since passed away: but it is the life of an Establishment, not of a Church...it is that restless life which generates schools like yours, and others in direct opposition to them...the life which is maintained on the alms of its neighbour and rival...the life which sustains the seeds blown into a colder soil from a happier climate;—the life that produces learning which disowns it, heroism which it fears, sanctity in which it cannot believe, gifts and graces which can find in it no home. Such things an Establishment may have; but those things only belong to her which abide in her."

And the indifferentist philosopher...what will be his "view" of the matter? He will say, "Man's mind is a pendulum, ever swinging backward and forward between extreme points. As methodism was a reaction from the sordid secularity of the preceding century, so Tractarianism was a reaction from State influence. Adversity makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows. A government which had suppressed ten Irish bishops made the Church party acquainted with its principles. They took up the battle where Laud left it off; but they had no longer either a mystic king or a martyr king to extend a shield over them. They preached the Apostolic Succession. That principle was a theological

one. It carried them as far as the channel. It there encountered a geographical confutation. A few men had real belief in their principle; they saw that the "Church militant" could not be a "geographical expression;" they broke bounds, and attached themselves to the "Orbis Terrarum." The rest had less insight or more patience. They would not let go their hold of a national-universal Church. They insisted upon sitting on a piece of chalk, until they had hatched the egg. If they could not be the obedient children, they resolved to be the affectionate parents of a Church, and to make the Establishment all she should be. They were to give her a faith, and she was to give them a commission.

"It was in vain:" our Indifferentist will proceed, "look at facts, and see how every success has been fatal to you. The success of the Laudian revival led to the decapitation of its chief supporters in Church and State. These are not sanguinary times; and your success has only led to the stultification of your principles. Tractarianism advanced in a School only to make Protestantism advance in the Church. The School set up the doctrine of Sacrifice; the Church courts decided against the stone altars. The School asserted the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession; the Church joined with the king of Prussia in consecrating a Protestant bishop at Jerusalem. The School made boast of orthodoxy; the Church witnessed the appointment of Dr. Hampden. The School was eloquent about "one faith and one baptism;" the Church has submitted to the Gorham decision. As often as the School has challenged the Church by a question, it has been answered by a blow. Each time that the School has fired off its gun, the recoil of the engine has driven the Church backward. There was no help for this. The series of disasters that ran parallel with the advancing 'Signs of Life' were the result of a natural law."

"This will easily be seen. The direction in which the tree bends is that in which it will fall. In compromise the Church of England began: equivocation has been its protection, and dissension must therefore be its end. Other Churches were either Popish or Puritan; and the misfortune of the Eastern Church is that it is Popish, while political circumstances have always prevented it from *growing* a Pope. But in the Church of England two elements were included, as in the English language two



vocabularies, the Latin and German, are united. There was no help for it. The English have ever been a people attached both to tradition and to liberty : and of logic they are seldom capable, having indeed pre-eminently the opposite gift—that of practical judgment. A Church either Catholic or Puritan must have excluded half the nation. A Church which united both sections had to exclude nothing but logic and consistency; and might get on by turning the thoughts of men from what the most thoughtful would soon find the most impracticable subject—theology—to useful pursuits. But religion lives in our instincts, as well as in our intellects; and opposite theologies are not easily held in union. The original diversities of opinion continued to propagate themselves; for, as men are born Aristotelians or Platonists, much more are they born Protestants or Catholics. The two parties struggled together, and each had the advantage in turn, till the State sat down upon both. At last a new scene opened out. The disabilities under which both Dissenters and Catholics laboured were done away with: and in 1829 the true trial of the Church of England *began*; for she was then first bidden to walk alone. Since then she has lived fast. The success of either of the contending parties in the Church of England must necessarily have stimulated the opposite to redoubled energy at a moment when it must do or die. Protestantism had gained the ascendancy in public opinion. The whole traditional element in English theology was called on to speak at once, or be silent for ever. It made a brave response. The light flares up in the socket before the lamp is extinguished :—this is the result of a simple mechanical pressure. In one word the rationale of the matter may be thus summed up. Whenever the Church of England breaks up it will be because the last question has put an end to the long mystification, and thus given one of the schools that compose it a final triumph over its rival. That success must itself be the result of a fierce battle, in which the conquered party will put forth the utmost of its energy, and attain, for a moment, to its highest development.”

There is, of course, no reason why the High-Churchman should assume the Catholic reading of recent events to be the true one rather than any of the rival versions of them. What he is really called on to do is to recognize

and realize the fact, that all such "views" are relative only, and therefore are just, so far only as the point of view from which they are taken is just; and consequently that, the matter in question being whether his own ecclesiastical position be or be not sound, that position can derive no protection whatever from such interpretations of providence. To act on this simple truth is his duty:—this it is, and not anything beyond his power which constitutes *his probation*. But has Tractarianism ceased because the arguments on which it threw itself when dislodged from its higher ground, are so plainly fallacious? On the contrary; it continues, some say, to make progress, if not as a theological School, yet still as a religious party. Such progress assuredly we do not regret: but we cannot but deplore its special modes of defence. A glance at these will be sufficient to show (what alone is our present theme) that of a warfare so conducted neither statesman nor philosopher can flatter himself with a prospect of seeing the end.

First, there is the argument from some infinitesimal piece of good luck or good promise amid the shifting events of the day. "Convocation has at least met, if it has not acted: and if it was suppressed as soon as it spoke, still it did speak." This is to sail by the weather-cock, not by the compass. Then there is the providential mode of accounting for all one's present deficiencies...the need of chastisement for sins, reduction of pride, and the like. But to believe in Providence is one thing; to interpret its ways is another; nay, is to change the problem from the region of faith to that of sight. It involves all the difficulties that beset those who confirm their impressions by the omens and auguries of unfulfilled Prophecy. No one knows what trials are good or bad for his party at a particular time; and most people are apt, when in good spirits, to think themselves the favourites of Providence, and when depressed, to think themselves abandoned. The sense of a Providence is intended to strengthen the heart and head, not to direct an unfixed faith, or to stamp a divine certainty on the mutations of human opinion. Then there is that appeal which to the intellect says nothing, but which so fatally paralyses the nerves and haunts the imagination. "What, and you too! can you doubt your own Mother?" The bewildered questioner forgets to answer that if the established church be indeed his spiritual

mother, he has no doubt that the more she is assailed the greater ought to be his fidelity: but that he sees several reasons for thinking that she neither can be the great mother-church, nor can be in communion with that Church,—that she can neither be the whole of it nor a legitimate part;—and that consequently it is by leaving her that he can alone return to a real obedience. He is ashamed of his doubts when he should be ashamed of having trifled with them so long. He is talked over, and dismissed with some wonderful anecdote, or the secret of some projected movement that is to set every thing right. He departs, troubled yet relieved. The next year, it may be, his adviser is a Catholic:—but the next year the advised is no more.

The appeal to the feelings sometimes takes the form of an appeal to the most sacred experiences. “The Church of England has Sacraments. You have often felt the power of them. In her, too, you have known the comfort of prayer and the answer to prayer. To doubt her is, therefore, to do despite to the Spirit of Grace.” But Dissenters use the same argument every day; and their theological position is not thus vindicated. It is impossible to say how far uncovenanted graces may not go in certain cases, or what response may not be made to prayer so long as the *whole* light accorded is faithfully used. The Anglican is apt to be too little tolerant in this respect to Dissenters and continental Protestants, regarding their “extraordinary consolations,” “wonderful judgments,” and “singular providences,” but as hallucinations or temptations. As he judges in the case of another let him sometimes judge in his own. The appeal is often made to the supposed sanctity of individuals; but here again, each sect is apt to have its own saints; and the life that is “hidden with God” is hardly likely to be sufficiently laid bare to mortal eye to admit of canonization by public opinion. Tertullian was a saint once; and not a few of those who once stood as high as any in the contemporary calendar of Puseyism are now to be found in the Catholic fold. Another argument is the happy deaths of many devout Anglicans. But in what school or in what sect are not such deaths heard of? We can no more penetrate the mystery of death than that of life: and grievous would be our delusion if we were to fix our religious belief, or position, by impressions so little likely to be impartial as the esti-

mate which we have formed of the deaths of those dear to us. A man's opinions may be false, and he may be mercifully taken away, expressly to save him from the consequences into which, if he lived, they would betray him:—or his heart may have been right though his mind was clouded by invincible ignorance:—or, again, his consolations may have been illusory, as in the case of notorious sinners who too often die without apparent contrition, yet full of confidence, and of what they mistake for faith. These things belong to the world which God only can look into. If the individual can weigh Grace, and measure the degree in which others have co-operated with it, or wrestled with temptation, what is there that he cannot do, and what need has he of creeds or councils?

Another and less amiable form of evasion is found in vituperation, "How dreadfully many of the converts are (they say) fallen off! They wear green neck-handkerchiefs, and walk about Rome with hunting whips in their hand. In Spain, the priests are infidels, we are told, and secretly Jews, or, at least, something very painful. In Ireland they have made constitutional government impossible. Poor Ireland! was not the famine enough? Probably, what she wants is another Cromwell...but one of sound church principles. At Rome the Cardinals live openly scandalous lives!" It is thus that a foreign Valet de Place, who has been amusing himself at the expense of travelling theologians, fills cloisters and common-rooms with the myriad echoes of a single voice! Since Virgil's time, and before it, the power of Rumour, with her thousand tongues, has been well known. In the warfare which consists in flinging dirt, those who walk in clean clothes are at a disadvantage. Once for all, theology is one thing, and gossip is another; and Catholics will not condescend to mix them. If Tractarianism confounds them, it is because its "poverty and not its will consents." It is easy to identify the teaching of individuals with that of the Church; to search the volumes of casuists, and pass off their exceptional cases as if they were ordinary rules; to ignore the casuistry of Protestant Divines, or the laxer practice of a public which indulges in fine phrases and acts as is convenient to it. To retort on such charges would be undignified, nay, uncharitable, since the day will probably come when those who have suffered themselves to be betrayed into thus degrading religion, and siding with the

party of infidelity, at home and abroad, will yield to nobler instincts, and deplore their present aberrations as much as we do. It is sufficient to remark that, even were their allegations true, their arguments are no arguments, unless the function ceases when the functionary is unworthy; and that if their arguments were worth anything, there could now be no church upon earth. What are they then? Evasions.

Shall we go on? "If the Church of England was good enough for Herbert and Andrews, must it not be good enough for me?" Surely this is mock-modesty reduced to a very slender disguise. If I am unworthy, compared with other people, is that a reason why I can dispense with the aids God has given to support human weakness? Can the most infirm best dispense with the true Physician? Might not a Dissenter in like manner invoke the names and examples of those honoured in his sect? Does it really follow, that, because the men in question followed the best lights they possessed (assuming such to have been the fact) the same can be said for a servile follower of theirs, if, under different circumstances, he clings to the position they occupied...nay, clings to it at the sacrifice of their principles? Again, it is sometimes asked,—“Are you going to condemn the church to which your parents belonged?” Surely we may leave the Reformers of the sixteenth century to settle this matter with their descendants, and to justify themselves for having forsaken the fold to which their forefathers for nine hundred years had belonged. It is sufficient to remark that, if piety to the departed were to be shewn, not by active good deeds that affect them, such as prayers for the dead, but by adhesion to all their opinions, and a refusal to advance beyond their lights, Christianity could never have superseded Paganism. Another plea of the same sort is,—“do you not feel that you have never yet done full justice to the community in which you stand? Have you done as much as she has always commanded you to do?” Might not every sect ask the same? It is easy for the worst to preach duties which the best will perform very imperfectly; and the more we advance in grace, the more shall we feel our deficiencies. True strength comes through a true Belief and true sacraments; and as it is the attribute of sects at best to preach virtues, but not to nourish souls, they will always have the power of saying,—“At least do not try a better counsellor till you have fully carried out

my advice. I have always advised you to repent perfectly. You will then surely do thus much before you try whether confession and penance, be, or be not, aids to repentance." Would such sophisms deceive us, if the matter in question related to our lives and properties? Once more, "Do your duty; read books of practical religion; and avoid the temptations of controversy." Alas! Is it then no duty to ascertain which is the True version of God's Revelation? is there nothing practical in finding out the ark of Salvation? is there not such a temptation as that which makes us give Truth itself a bad name, discard at once Enquiry and real Faith, and keep terms with a religion which keeps terms with our country and our time? It is thus that we deceive ourselves when we play tricks with the subject, and look away from that which is the real point at issue. Every tie of life becomes a bond fastening us down to error. "Only look at my brother John!" exclaims some simple-hearted clergyman of the rural districts—"I, indeed, know little or nothing: but he is a man of universal learning, and European reputation. Where he is at rest, surely I must be safe!" "Only look at my brother Thomas!" exclaims the learned and far-famed John. "I have read enough to know that learning may deceive, and logic bewilder;—but simplicity is an inspiration in itself. My brother has chosen the better part. In the innocence of the vales, and in the duties of practical life he has found the security that is denied to the proud. Well! he has no misgivings. Surely I must be safe where he is!" And thus the complete John-Thomas stands firm and collected, a single and perfect man...a monument of stability assuring the hearts of thousands...a modern miracle in the land that knows not counterfeits...a Puseyite without a doubt!

But to give a list of "jury-mast" arguments under which dismantled systems may sail till they have got up their new rigging, would be impossible. We have referred to a dozen of them; but of such resources there will always be an unexhausted supply—one exactly proportionate in quantity and quality to the demand. We have not space to trace the later developments of the other schools within the Anglican Church. They can all alike find a new argument to balance each new mischance, or pass off a new evasion for an argument. There is then no chance of that theological warfare which every day connects



itself more and more with social warfare, dying of inanition. No confutation can convince those who will not "know when they are beaten." In the temporal sphere, those who choose to live in an infected neighbourhood, to sail in a bad ship, or to ride a foundered horse, receive a species of confutation which suffices for others, even though it may leave them the power of saying that "if it were to do again they would do just the same." But in spiritual things, the only light which cannot be resisted belongs to the future world; and a silence more awful than any sound compasses the deeds of men till the judgment be pronounced. From a period earlier than that in which we learn to speak, till the last sob of expiring life, inclusively, we are allowed the awful power of deceiving ourselves and those about us. There is, therefore, no hope that any external chance should abate that confusion and warfare which we have deplored. And thus we are brought back to our starting point. "Who shall stay the Plague of Controversy?" This is the question which the hater of Theology, and not he alone, has been demanding for years. We end as we began; entreating our anti-theological friends not to add to the warfare of the time by warring against the search after Truth itself. The world was not made exclusively for philosophers, for statesmen, for lovers of literary ease, "or practical life," for Epicureans, or triflers, for persons without anxieties, or whose anxieties are limited to trivial matters, and reach not those which are supernatural and eternal. Such being the case, a great disquietude respecting Divine Truth must ever remain in a nation which has once enjoyed the light of Revealed Religion, and which still preserves the belief that God Himself became Man, and gave man a Revelation of Himself. . . . nay, that a book still exists which proves that such a Revelation was made; though it does not, by itself, shew what that Revelation is. The Catholic Church is the Temple of that Spirit through Whom the Bible was written. It is for this reason that she is also emphatically the "Church of the Poor," to whom "the Gospel is preached." In her fold, it is no inconsistency to affirm at once that you live by the Truth, and yet that you are no discoverer of Truth; for to her children truth comes by inheritance, and commonly through faith and obedience alone, not analysis and scientific discussion. These last remain the tasks special to her doctors and pastors. In the 'One

Body' all members have not the same function; for if the eye were all, where would be the ear?—but all have the *benefit* of all functions; for the same Spirit dispenses to all, constituting some, Teachers, and others, the Taught. It is thus that among civilized, though not among barbarous, races, there is a distribution of offices; and, though but a few are lawyers or soldiers, all have the benefits of Law, and partake in the national security. From the moment, however, that Private Judgment substituted itself for that Authority which is, in reality, the Law of Love, the Communion of Saints, the preeminence which rules by serving, no choice remained except that of renouncing Truth, which is to renounce Him Who is Truth, or that of seeking truth through controversy, and *at all costs*. The Eastern Schism but paralyzed the region detached from the Church in which is the Spirit of life. The Reformation blew a trumpet against the four points of heaven, and invoked at once all the storms. The Powers of the air heard it and rushed in. Protestants must not complain if they have to reap as they have sown. Protestantism found a state of things in which what is individual, and what is common, in religion could not be confused. Each man had to believe, to hope, to love, to repent, to obey, individually: but Truth was, objectively, a common possession. Personal action, and Personal Responsibility, could not then have been confounded with separate action and the isolation of mere individualism. A *common* confession of sins, and a *private* opinion, would not then have satisfied. In the so-called "dark ages," not a century passed by without adding to the stores of theology; but the work went on ordinarily in silence, like the building of the Temple. Since the Reformation, the process in Protestant countries has been the opposite; and the sum of recognized Revealed Truth has been ever diminishing. It is surely not the lower instincts of man's nature which make him cling convulsively to what is left; though, the more rigidly he closes his hand, the more rapidly, like sand, the treasure escapes through his fingers.

In England the controversy rages more fiercely than elsewhere: and this is her own choice. She has enthroned private judgment, but not expelled tradition. It is where the water meets the land that the waves roar loudest. She has all the controversies that other Protestant countries have, and one more besides...the question, namely, whether

she is Protestant or not. As she sometimes professes to be more Catholic than the Catholic Church itself, so she is Protestant in such a transcendent sense as to protest even against Protestantism. Surely there must be a remedy for her confusions. If the articles and liturgy will not agree why not separate them? If high and low cannot live together, why cannot they live apart, and be at rest? "But," it will be answered, "the two divided portions would soon have to be divided again. Moreover, the true destiny of the Church of England is not to divide but to expand, not to expel but to include!" Very possibly; and nothing can be easier. What more would be necessary for that end, than to cut off those "subtleties" or dogmatic statements which offend the Dissenters? "But," it will be answered, "this would be to expel the dogmatists, especially those of the High-Church School; and in losing respectability we should lose all." In this case, of course, matters must remain as they are: and Catholics at least have no right to quarrel with an arrangement to which they owe so much. But they may be allowed, as parties concerned, to tender such plain advice as this. Face things as they are and be contented. Do not try to unite contradictory advantages. You have your Church as you have made it. It is, in many respects, a great bond of social and political order, a great educationist, a great dispenser of charities, a vindicator of morals and Ethics...nay, a witness for "general Christianity." Many of its most zealous supporters do not assert more than this: and all this many of us concede. It is not because we deny that, in one sense the Establishment may be a valuable institution, that we decline to belong to it; but because we believe in a Supernatural Order, founded on a Supernatural Revelation. But do not be amazed if your remedies against enthusiasm have cooled the hearts of the poor to your Church. They will serve God from love and fear, or not at all; and in proportion as you get rid, on the one hand, of the Eucharistic Worship and of "erotic devotions," and on the other, of distressing statements, such as those about Purgatory and Eternal Punishment, you will get rid of the poor. If you say discussion is the mode to reach truth, do not be angry because the nation takes to discussion, and prefers "vitality," &c., to "stagnation, a dead uniformity," &c. If the Church has "authority in contro-

versies of faith," do not be surprised if Churchmen preach authority; and if all Churches may err, do not be surprised if the laity refuse to believe in an instructress who cannot believe in herself. Least of all be offended because a certain Church which is greatly spoken against, but which believes that she has a gift for man, proffers that gift.

Such would be the counsel of plain common sense to one resolved to perpetuate all the causes of strife that now so strangely meet in England, yet displeased because the connection between cause and effect has not been suspended to ensure his rest. But very different would be our tone to one of a more serious and manly mind, whose sorrow comes from a deeper source. Let such a man but ruminate over the state of things which we have described, and do so in that frame of mind in which we realize the thought that the whole world of sense and earthly interest is but a dream; that Truth alone abides; that God is the true universe; and that suns and systems are but motes in His light. Let him ask himself, "And I...what is my faith? do I really *believe* anything? What is the theology of the day? and how was my own come by?" Might not the answer be often thus made? "A little part of it, but the better part, came, on the Catholic principle, by tradition. It was learned at the knee of a mother. A little more came from the teaching prevalent at the moment in the school to which I was sent as a boy. Another portion came from the suggestion of friends who have long since changed their minds. Another portion from teachers selected by private judgment. Another from books at variance with each other, and among which we were at once pupils and umpires. Another from private judgment pure. Another from the accidents of the hour. Another from vague impression and predilection. Another from a resolution always to avoid Rome: and the greater part from Public Opinion—a blind guide, perhaps, but one who is always close by one." Well, then, you *believe* nothing; and you suspect it. Your theology is what is vulgarly called a "hodge podge:"—it cannot come from Him who is eternal Order, and immutable Truth. This also you know...as far as you choose to know it. In this, then, lies your probation.

For a choice lies before you. You may be true to the moral light you have; pray for more; fulfil known duties with diligence; use the internal grace denied to none, and

likewise the external aids which Providence places in our way in proportion as we will use them. You believe in reason and conscience. You may then cast off whatever in human systems is plainly, not above reason, but contradictory to it, absurd, and incoherent. You believe that a Revelation has been made, and that, whatever it may be, Faith is the organ through which it is received. You may exchange a Rule of Faith through which the habitual exercise of faith, even if the disposition exists, is not possible, for one in which faith is directed by her who is the "pillar and the ground of truth" to the spiritual Objects of Faith. You know that Certainty, not Probability, ranks among the Scriptural "notes" of true Religious knowledge. You may seriously examine the claims of a Church which has always insisted on the certainty of Divine knowledge, and denounced Protestant Systems as conjectural. You may make the Cross your book:—fear God, so as to fear none beside:—love Him, so as to be undistracted by meaner affections:—have Him for your guide, and find in Him not only the truth and the life, but the way to each, and to endless peace. Except through Him no one can come to His Church.

Or, again, you may trample your misgivings down—you may get used to them as we get used to the smell of an hospital. You may find out the most plausible reasons for remaining as you are, such as the necessity of fulfilling immediate duties, the danger of speculation leading to delusion, the chance of enquiry depriving you of faith—a faith which you too probably do not possess except in its most rudimental form, and which you cannot retain, except by trading with it in the spirit of a reverent boldness. You may do all this; and be thought the better of by the world for so doing; and feel less and less disquietude every year. But you will have betrayed yourself, and all dependent upon you; and you will miss the true purpose of life; and you will die as you have lived. A sorrier sight there cannot be, whatever the world may think, than that of a brave man acting like a coward, a wise man like a fool, an earnest man like a trifler, a lover of truth and right like one who believed that, in their highest and native sphere, truth and right have no place. Yet even to this men born for better things are reduced by the necessities of Protestantism. They have been cheated, and that before they could think, of those great primary ideas, Religion, Faith, absolute Truth, which

*underlie* Theology:—and the human substitutes which continue to bear those august names are too insubstantial to serve as the basis for any solid structure. They cannot put out their hand in any direction without striking against a limit; nor look to either side without seeing a precipice; nor tread strongly without shaking down the pasteboard house in which they live. Their Religion is a Concordat which a Great Nation has made with an Unknown Power. They have a Theology of bright fancies and hollow names, which they dare not examine, lest the huge bubble should burst beneath their touch. It is in vain to remind them that if Enquiry be wrong, the Reformation was wrong: that if Authority be the true rule of faith it can hardly mean the chance authority of any particular body in which we happen to be placed;—that a man may be a Catholic or a Protestant; but that he cannot be both, and combine both with Latitudinarianism. The resolved but undogmatic Protestant will not believe even thus much; for the statement is logical; and his position requires that he should discard logic, and cease to have faith even in the connection between premiss and conclusion. He has perhaps courage enough to stake his salvation, and that of all whom he influences, on the soundness of a vague impression, and of an impression at variance with the convictions of three-fourths of Christendom:—yet he has not courage to meditate composedly for half an hour. It is a paralysis and a torpor. Amid the boasted enlightenment of a Reformation that professed to break in a moment the chains of twelve centuries, the mind, so active as to terrestrial things, when directed to the supernal sphere, refuses to act. The most thoughtful often refuse most absolutely to think; for such persons cannot, as easily as the rest, think themselves into fanatical consolations. The intellect of Protestantism is not to be blamed for declining to advance further into a wilderness; but it stands self-condemned for refusing even to consider seriously the duty of retracing its steps to the parental dwelling. The supposed chains which, in its fever, it tore off, were its clothes: and, self-enfolded, dim-eyed, and cold, the gloomy barbarian sits watching the ashes of a fire that has burned itself out. And yet but to put forth a hand frankly were to touch the gate;—to lift up the eyes devoutly, were to be once more at home!



- ART. V.—1. *Elements of Logic, &c.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. Eighth Edition, Revised. London: B. FELLOWES.
2. *Discussions on Philosophy, &c.* By SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman.
3. *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., &c.* Collected by SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman.
4. *A System of Logic, &c.* By JOHN STUART MILL. Third Edition. London: Parker.

THE number and rapid succession of works on Logic, recently published in these countries, is not the least remarkable evidence of the present activity of the British press. Until within a few years ago, the study of Logic, at least since the rise of the Reformation, had never attained even a moderate degree of popularity among Englishmen. A variety of causes combined to obstruct its general cultivation. The philosophy of Bacon, whether for good or for evil, created a distaste for, if not a downright prejudice against mere abstract speculation of every kind; and induced a belief that all mental labour not employed in adding to the physical enjoyments, or alleviating the physical privations of mankind, was an unproductive waste of thought—a scattering of precious seed over a barren and ungrateful soil. It led men to set a value only upon such science as would enable them to win from Nature secrets which experience could authenticate—and rules according to which the resources of the earth and of the sea might be turned to most profitable account. The enemies of Logic have always represented it as an eminently unpractical study. At best, they maintain, it is but a *crux ingeniorum*—a repertory of hard, obscure, and barbarous terms. It is the natural ally, they used to say, not of truth, but of falsehood—it may hide the one under a cloud of meaningless words, but in the cause of the other, it is a worthless auxiliary, incapable of making new discoveries, or of converting old discoveries to any adequate account. Moreover, it was frequently objected to Logic, that it had been cherished in, and had descended from, a rude age, which was more inclined to attach importance to empty

forms than to realities; the most ludicrous absurdities of the schoolmen were picked out and traced directly to its influence: and the singular acumen of Locke enabled him to discover that artificial Logic had, without effecting any tangible good, occasioned many deplorable evils both to religion and to society. A science concerning the nature and value of which there existed such unfavourable misconceptions—misconceptions as wide-spread as they were unfounded—was necessarily doomed to neglect. Hence, the English works on Logic used, until within a very recent period, to count by units; and few, if any of these were distinguished for learning, originality, or depth of thought. Not embracing more than the mechanical part of the subject, they attempt no discussion of its philosophy, and altogether, they are scarce elevated in their aim above the character of school grammars. The treatise by Watts is vastly superior, in point of information and of systematic arrangement, to almost every book on Logic that had appeared in England before the publication of Dr. Whately's "Elements." The shameful apathy and neglect with which this study was uniformly treated in the great seats of education, was partly the cause and partly the consequence of its general unpopularity. In the Universities, at least, one would imagine that every science worthy of being so called, should find an asylum and a shrine; but even there, Logic met few to respect, and none to reverence it. Less than half a century ago, a Student of Oxford might have passed through examinations, obtained degrees, won the highest distinctions and honours without having ever mastered a manual of Logic; and Dr. Whately writes, that thirty years before the appearance of his valuable treatise "the revival of the study of Logic would probably have appeared to many persons as far more difficult than the introduction of some new study, as resembling rather the attempt to restore life to one of the ante-diluvian fossil plants, than the rearing of a young seedling into a tree."

But a change has taken place in the history of this portion of "divine philosophy." The science so long neglected in England, appears in our days to exercise much of its old fascination, and to be rapidly regaining over men's minds the old ascendancy that characterized it in the time of Proclus and of Abelard. Thousands of votaries are now offering ardent homage in the temple which

awhile ago had been deserted and silent. Not a month passes which does not bring us new publications on Logic, some of the moriginal compilations, some translations from French and German, not a few evincing much thought and ability, and all, when viewed in connexion with each other, as well as with their respective adjuncts of size, sale, various editions, and reputation, clearly indicating that the popular mind has been impregnated with a new leaven, and that if the present progress of things be uninterrupted, half a century hence will find the English a nation of trained philosophers. In the Universities, too, Logic seems to have reasserted its ancient rightful supremacy. Instead of being disregarded as a frivolous, barren pursuit, it is now ranked as the highest and noblest employment that can claim the attention or engage the faculties of a reasoning being.

It is by no means difficult to detect a few at least of the causes which helped to accomplish this significant revolution in the fortunes of the "art of arts." The enlightened efforts, made by the late Dr. Copleston, and by Dr. Whately to dispel the venerable and absurd prejudices of Oxford against Logic are universally appreciated. To Dr. Whately, more than to any man living, Logic is indebted for its present popularity in England. The appearance of his "Elements" operated like a spell upon the public mind. From the title page to the end of the volume it is as free from all pedantic jargon, as it is from frivolous catches and verbal puerilities. Without affecting a repulsive display of erudition, it abounds in solid and varied learning; and the perspicuous, flowing style, enriched by illustrations, which, though constantly recurring, are always graceful, apposite, and instructive, has thrown round a subject, proverbially technical, an interest and a charm which only the cunning hand of a master could communicate. Altogether, it has contributed more than any production in the language to propagate a correct view of the real value of the science of reasoning; and to remove the unjust, but popular imputation, that Logic, "though a good horse in the stable, is an arrant jade for a journey." It would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into a criticism of Dr. Whately's work, in a dialectic or literary point of view. Most of our readers are aware that the author has mistaken a partial and indeed a subordinate function of Logic for its adequate province;

that, instead of making the unvarying and essential conditions of thought its paramount object, he has arbitrarily and unjustly circumscribed its sphere to the mere use of words. He has also been charged with having been deficient in that comprehensive and plenary knowledge of the *literature* of his subject which might fairly have been expected even from a writer of less conspicuous ability, and less unquestioned repute for scholarship.

The controversy regarding the nature and value of Induction, to which his remarks have given rise, we cannot bring ourselves to consider as of much practical value. Aristotle, no doubt, was clearly of opinion that Induction is not reducible to the syllogism as its type and the test of its validity; he held it to be an entirely distinct and independent form of argument. But it is by no means equally clear to us (as is maintained by those who impugn the views of Dr. Whately), that the Stagyrte required a formally exhaustive enumeration of all the individual facts, or constituent parts as the necessary premises for a legitimate inference concerning the general law, or complete whole, whose existence it is sought to ascertain by Induction. In practice such an enumeration is ordinarily impossible; upon the strength of the validity of the "material illation," as Sir William Hamilton styles it,—that is, upon the presumption that a complete, a rigorously exhaustive enumeration of the component parts is not absolutely indispensable for a legitimate conclusion concerning the whole,—the practical reasoning of daily life is conducted, and even the severest sciences could not afford to discard it. To assign the conditions which legitimate such an inference is, to our mind, the true problem of Induction; at least, it is the only one which we would care to see solved. If we could once ascertain when and in what circumstances we might without peril deduce a general law from a limited number of observations, and a complete whole from a partial investigation of its components, we could then possess a valuable theory of Induction—nor in analyzing the formal process by which the mind would pass from the integrant parts to the complete whole, could it, we imagine, be of very weighty importance to determine whether it is compelled by any mental law to *fancy* a detailed supplementary inspection of the unexamined parts, or to at once assume that what holds

with regard to the parts, actually examined, holds with regard to the entire.

It could scarce have been expected that the author of the "*Elements of Logic*" should, in the course of the work, have entirely abstained from allusion to his peculiar views on subjects connected with Religion. In all his writings, Dr. Whately contrives to find room for an expression more or less distinct and unequivocal of his religious opinions. The doctrine of the Trinity, as asserting a real distinction of Persons in God, he ranks in the present treatise as a fallacy, and pretty clearly intimates that Sabellianism is its logical corrective. The idea is evidently cherished as one of his Grace's household thoughts. He delights in bringing it forward, sometimes incidentally—sometimes for formal discussion—sometimes as a thesis—sometimes as a casual, but apt illustration—sometimes it occurs in an appendix, or a charge,—and again it is introduced with elaborate ingenuity in the article on the Corruptions of Christianity recently published in the current edition of the *British Encyclopædia*. Our readers are acquainted with the mode in which Dr. Whately would explain the dogma of the Trinity. His is not the faith in that mystery which the Athanasian Creed asserts to be necessary for salvation. He *does* confound the persons. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are not, in his view, three distinct Persons, but three distinct characters, borne by one and the same Person. "Person," he writes, "in its ordinary use, at present, invariably implies a numerically distinct substance. Each man is one person, and can be but one. It has also a peculiar theological sense in which we speak of the 'three Persons' of the Blessed Trinity. It was probably thus employed by our divines as a literal or perhaps etymological rendering of the Latin word '*Persona*.'" Then come two extracts from the writings of Wallis, the Mathematician and Logician, to explain the theological sense of the term, and to prove that Dr. Whately's view is not an innovation, but of high antiquity in the Protestant church.

"That which makes these expressions" (viz. respecting the Trinity) "seem harsh to some of these men is, because they have used themselves to fancies that notion only of the word Person, according to which three men are accounted to be three persons, and these three

persons to be three men. But he may consider that there is another notion of the word Person, and in common use, too, wherein the same man may be said to sustain divers persons, and those persons to be the same man, that is, the same man as sustaining divers capacities. As was said but now of Tully, *Tres Personae unus sustineo—meam, adversarii, judicis*. And then it will seem no more harsh to say the Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God, than to say God the Creator, God the Redeemer, and God the Sanctifier are one God."

"The word Person (*Persona*) is originally a Latin word, and does not properly signify a man, (so that another person must needs imply another man); for then, the word *Homo* would have served, and they needed not have taken in the word *Persona*; but rather one so circumstantiated. And the same man, if considered in other circumstances, (considerably different) is reputed another person. And that this is the true notion of the word Person appears by those noted phrases, *personam induere, personam deponere, personam agere*, and many the like in approved Latin authours. Thus, the same man may at once sustain the person of a king and a father, if he be invested both with regal and paternal authority. Now, because the king and the father are for the most part not only different persons, but different men also, and the like in other cases, hence it comes to pass that another person is sometimes supposed to imply another man, but not always, nor is that the proper sense of the word. It is Englished in our dictionaries by the state, quality, or condition whereby one man differs from another; and so as the condition alters, the person alters, though the man be the same."

To this doctrine of Wallis Dr. Whately subscribes; and he is pleased, moreover, to stigmatize the Catholic exposition of the Trinity as a virtual Tritheism, and as involving a self-contradiction. His views, he maintains, derive confirmation from the fact that though they have been so long before the public, and though they are obnoxious to *some* (i. e., to all Christians, morally speaking), they have never been refuted. The author of the "Elements of Logic" does not mean that they have never been refuted by arguments drawn from Revelation. What is this speculation of his concerning the Blessed Trinity but the fundamental error—the prop and corner-stone of Socinianism? If Socinianism has been proved to be false, so has Dr. Whately's view, which is but a refined plagiarism—an old exploded heresy in a new form. Was not this the very objection pressed by Crellius against the Catholic doctrine regarding the Trinity—that it led to Tritheism—that it was repugnant to reason, and involved self-contradiction? Does not Dr.



Whately, as well as Socinus, assume that his own intelligence, his individual modicum of understanding is not only the standard by which God must have regulated his communications to man, so that they should not be too high for its grasp, too intricate for its comprehension, but that it is also the measure of things possible, even of the height, breadth and depth of the Divine Nature? If Dr. Whately does not in reality assume this, how could he have laboured under the delusion that it still remains to be demonstrated that there are in God Three Persons really distinct, and that his assertion that there is only one Person who has borne three different characters, as one man might bear the characters of a king, a priest, and a prophet, still remains to be refuted. We can comprehend how an Unitarian might, in the pride of his heart, flatter himself that Unitarianism is a thesis which no assailant can disprove. Consistently with his principles it is not difficult to defend it; and he might well persuade himself that it cannot be overthrown. But the principles of an Unitarian directly lead to the subversion of all mysteries of religion—of the least above our capacity as well as of the most sublime and incomprehensible. Whatever does not seem to square with his individual notions of right and wrong, true and false, possible and repugnant, he makes it a rule to discard and repudiate. The Almighty, he contends, can reveal nothing so high that his faculties cannot soar to it, nothing so profound that they may not fathom it. In short, he claims to himself a right of revising the communications of God, and of making them conform to his own preconceptions. We can well conceive how a man, setting out with such principles as these, might make profession of admitting and revering the authority of Revelation, and yet bring himself to regard the august mystery of the Trinity as a self-contradicting myth. The natural imbecility of the human mind, and the difficulties which beset this great dogma of a Trinity of Persons and Unity of Nature, when it is contemplated by the mere unaided light of reason, might account for the way in which a theorist, arguing from the Unitarian point of view, comes to detect an apparent absurdity and contradiction in a truth which he cannot comprehend. Now, we do not know whether Dr. Whately, in rejecting a real distinction of Persons in God, and in falling back upon Sabellianism as the only rational and satisfactory method of explaining whatever is taught,

both by Scripture and tradition, concerning the Trinity, intends not merely to uphold an isolated tenet of Socinianism, but also to sanction and defend the principles upon which Socinianism is based. Whatever may have been his design, an Unitarian would undoubtedly recognize in his Lordship's argument against a Trinity of Persons in God a virtual acceptance and confirmation of all his own most peculiar and most cherished views. An Unitarian rejects the mystery of the Trinity simply on the ground that to him a Trinity of Persons in one Nature seems to involve self-contradiction; Dr. Whately rejects it on the same ground. Dr. Whately, it is true, professes moreover to rely upon the sense in which the Latin word *Persona* was used in the earlier times of the Church. We will not characterize this attempt to prop up his opinion by a few quotations borrowed from Wallis as an ingenious theological *effugium*, but it is extremely difficult to conceive how a writer of acknowledged erudition, and a Protestant Archbishop could have asserted in good faith that "the Latin Fathers did not intend to employ it (*Persona*) in what is now the ordinary sense of the word: both because *Persona* never, I believe, bore that sense in pure Latinity, and also because it is evident that in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods, a meaning which the orthodox always disavowed." On no other article of faith have the sentiments of the Latin Fathers and the decisions of the Latin Church been more explicit and unequivocal than in reference to the mystery of the Trinity. They taught and inculcated it in the sense in which it is believed by all Catholics,—taught it so as to leave no more room for doubt about their meaning than when they spoke of a judgment and a world to come. But plain and emphatic as is the exposition of the mystery of the Trinity, delivered by them in a thousand passages, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, writing an elementary treatise on Logic, vehemently contends that they cannot have intended what they actually say. And mark the reason alleged by him,—because, "in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods." We have rarely met with a more fatal application of the Socinian principle than is to be found in this argument of Dr. Whately. Not only, he says, is the doctrine of a real distinction of Persons in God in the sense held by Catholics not revealed in Scripture, but even the Latin

Fathers spoke of no such dogma ! In the face of an array of evidence as manifold and as clear as the evidence in favour of God's existence, it is maintained that the Latin Fathers did not teach a distinction of divine Persons in the sense in which Catholics and almost all professing Christians believe them to be distinct, because, upon reflection, it seems to Dr. Whately " that in that sense three divine Persons would have been exactly equivalent to three Gods ! " By a perfect parity of reasoning an atheist might argue that the bulk of mankind are not agreed in acknowledging a Deity, because, to his mind, the idea of a necessary self-existing being presents a repugnance and contradiction.

We are sorry that Dr. Whately should have thought fit to introduce this article on the Trinity into a work on Logic. Even in the appendix on ambiguous terms, the subject was irrelevant ; and we regret to add that the principle on which the discussion of it is there conducted, may be turned to most mischievous account by the assailants and scoffers of religion. Dr. Whately has furnished the unbeliever with a weapon which may be aimed with fatal effect at the edifice of revealed truth. If there be not a real distinction of Persons in God, the inspired oracles which Christians profess to reverence might as well have been dumb ; they are of no more value in guiding the intellect than the mystic utterances of the sibyl. Multiply and illustrate the evidences of Christianity as you may, this rejection of a second divine Person in the Deity loosens the whole argument, and shows that there must be a radical unsoundness in it. The whole Christian world, a Deist will say, had agreed in admitting that there were three Persons really distinct in God—that the Father was really distinct from the Son, and that the Holy Ghost was really distinct from both ; there could have been no mistake about the sense in which they believed this distinction ; it was plainly asserted in their sacred volume—it was explained and upheld by the voice of a long unbroken tradition, making itself heard in their symbols of faith, in the deliberations of their councils, in their condemnation of heresies, in the writings of their saints and doctors, in their catechisms, in their Sunday schools. All contending sects were agreed upon this dogma, at least ; nay more, they all concurred in representing it as the great truth from which all the other truths of Christianity spring—and, lo ! the great mystery so important, so uncontroverted, turns out to be a fable, a

myth, a self-contradiction. And as the root is, so, it may be justly inferred, are the branches also; as is this fundamental dogma, so is the whole system of Christianity.

With regard to the doctrine of original sin, the author of the "Elements of Logic" suggests a view not quite so peculiar as his view on the Trinity, but which will strike a Catholic as scarce less incompatible with orthodox belief on another vital point of Christianity. The word sin, he writes, "has also what may be called a theological sense, in which it is used for that *sinfulness* or *frailty*, that liability or proneness to transgression, which all men inherit from our first parents, and which is commonly denominated 'original' sin, in which sense we find such expressions, as, 'In sin hath my mother conceived me.' " The impression which this passage is evidently calculated to make upon the mind of the student is, that the vast majority of right-minded theologians, when they assert that a man is conceived and born in sin, simply mean that he is born with certain natural propensities to evil, but they do not at all intend to convey that he comes into the world in a state of positive guilt. If he be placed in the occasion of sin during life, he has inherited from Adam a dangerous tendency which may incline and hurry him to its commission; but beyond this there is no taint of sin resting upon his soul, until he himself shall have voluntarily contracted it. This theory foreshadowed the scandal of the Gorham controversy unmistakeably enough.

Here is an abstract of Dr. Whately's sentiments upon the unity of the Christian Church. It is not very difficult to predict the theological course which would be adopted by a youth taught concurrently to prove syllogisms, and regale his intellect over such an enlarged system of toleration as the following. It leaves just a choice between indifferentism, on the one side, and the most extreme latitudinarianism on the other. "The Church is undoubtedly *one*, and so is the human race *one*; but not as a society. It was, from the first, composed of distinct societies, which were called *one*, because formed on common principles. It is *one* society only when considered as to its future existence. The circumstance of its having one common Head, Christ, one Spirit, one Father, are points of unity which no more make the Church one society on earth, than the circumstance of all men having the same Creator, and being derived from the same Adam, renders the human

race one family." The most conclusive argument against the Protestant rule of private judgment is to observe the manner in which it is actually applied by a sound, intrepid logician. The conclusion to which it leads Dr. Whately—a conclusion which he considers too valuable to be omitted in his "Elements of Logic," is, that Christ's connection with the Church did not extend beyond the mere inculcation of certain principles by which it should be governed; but that he had no more to do with its establishment (as a living society) than he who first pointed out the correct principles of architecture had to do with the building of the new House of Commons. It is dangerous to tamper with the word of God. If it be not received at once with child-like simplicity and deference,—if we apply the rule of our own poor, narrow intellect to ascertain its fitness, and gauge its proprieties, the chances are that the experiment will generally end in disbelief. Here are two prominent, fundamental dogmas of Christianity—a Trinity of Persons in God—and the transmission of the guilt of original sin. Both are tested by that principle from which Protestantism has sprung, and on which it reposes; and, behold, one is instantly explained away, whilst the other is exhibited in a misty atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty. There is no real distinction of Persons, according to the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, to be admitted in the Deity! There is but one Person as well as but one nature in God; and because, forsooth, this one Person did, on different occasions, assume different characters—now of a Creator, again of a Redeemer, and again of a Paraclete, just as David bore the characters of a shepherd, a king, and a composer of psalms, men come to corrupt the truth, and by a perverse, unwarrantable transition to confound the different relations in which God deigned to manifest Himself to us with a real distinction of Persons, obtaining intrinsically in God! This is the only sense in which the readers of the "Elements of Logic," if guided by the theological teaching of its author, would be allowed to accept the mystery which so often elicited an *O altitudo* from St. Augustine.

Such theories as these, every Catholic believes to be not only false, but utterly subversive of revealed religion. The dogma of a Trinity of Persons in God is the very keystone of the arch of faith; it is the glorious centre round which the whole system of divine truth revolves, and from which it derives all its harmony and stability. To cast a

doubt upon it, would be to leave the intellect no guiding pillar of fire through the desert, to leave the heart no Temple, no Jerusalem to which it could turn in prosperity or in affliction, in bondage or in triumph. We do not, however, allude to these dangerous, rationalistic views of Dr. Whately with the design of undertaking a refutation of them; we purpose, merely to state, without discussing, some of the theological tendencies of modern Logic, and to ascertain without debating their philosophical orthodoxy, the influence which the spread of those tendencies must ultimately exercise upon Christianity in England. It is simply for this purpose that we have referred to the above opinions advanced by a Protestant Archbishop, and contained in a book which has confessedly inaugurated the new era in the history of logical science; and in doing so, we are compelled to say that however admirable may be Dr. Whately's skill in the exposition of dialectic, there is a part, at least, of his theology mixed up with it, which is subversive of the whole superstructure of revealed religion, and which leads to no very long or circuitous road to unqualified Deism.

The student of Logic is not less familiar with the name of Sir W. Hamilton than with that of Dr. Whately. Though he has not yet given to the world any thing in the shape of a definite and complete system, Sir William has, undoubtedly, the largest and most influential following of any philosopher within the British seas. He is almost everywhere revered as a master, and among his disciples he has succeeded in inspiring a degree of faith and enthusiasm, which recal the venerable shades that once presided over the Academy, or disputed in the Mediæval Universities. And in the deference thus paid to authority, there is little of which even the most scrupulous Cartesian could legitimately complain. Sir William Hamilton's opinions rarely rest upon an *ipse dixit*; indeed, they are commonly supported by a profusion of learned argument as well as stated with a minuteness of detail, which an ordinary reader might be tempted to attribute to affectation and parade. The merits of his works have been often discussed at home and upon the continent: to our minds, the most prominent characteristic of his published writings, the "Discussions on Philosophy," and "Hamilton's Reid," is their searching erudition. In this respect, he is superior to any of his Scotch predecessors—far superior to Reid



himself, and infinitely superior to Dugald Stewart. Though Sir William, too, has borne off some unacknowledged treasures from The "*De la Reserche de la Verité*," it is not because he left other books unread or other mines of thought unexplored. He is evidently a scholar, and a ripe and good one. In the course of the two works of which he is the author, few occasions offer of evincing a familiarity with Præ-Aristotelianism; but wherever he does allude to Plato, it is invariably after the fashion of a man who has taken care to make himself thoroughly master of his subject. Aristotelianism, in all its windings and recesses, he has gone over, as if with a drag-net; and, in our very humble judgment, there is no living Philosopher more intimately acquainted with the Stagyrite. In Scholasticism, too, he is profoundly learned; but in reference to both the Alexandrian and Christian Schoolmen, as well as in reference to modern philosophers, Sir William Hamilton seems to fancy that those among them who departed widest from all established forms of theological thinking, and propounded the most extravagant theories concerning Religion, are best entitled to respect. Had he made his studies under Cousin, he could not have followed the brilliant eclectic more nearly in his estimate, or coincided with him more entirely in his appreciation of favourite authorities. Proclus is an idol. The wayward and fanatic genius which dictated such fierce assaults upon Christianity, such a systematic championship of Paganism, commands unqualified admiration. Raymond Lully, the eccentric Franciscan, whose life was employed in the double mission of making converts from Mohametanism to Christianity, and of making converts from Christianity to Deism, is another of the worthies proposed for hero-worship in the school of Sir William Hamilton; and Campanella, too, comes in for no stingy meed of praise,—rather, we presume, because he was a refractory Dominican, than because of his ill-disguised leanings towards Pantheism. Of modern Continental writers on Philosophy, Sir William recognises none who are not avowed, notorious rationalists. In Italy, in France, in Belgium, in Germany, there have been within the last half century several publications not inferior in ability, and in point of soundness pre-eminently above the best things sent forth by the advocates of Infidelity, and yet (though he rarely misses an opportunity of inciting others to constant reading by showing them the

extent of his own) the learned professor offended, perhaps, by their Catholic tone and tendency, has entirely overlooked them. He seems to think that outside the ranks of Deism there is no true philosophy to be found—at least, no philosophy worthy of consideration or notice. It was a theory of Hegel, that among the nations of earth, at least, since the degradation of Greece, the Germans alone, are, by nature qualified to be the depositaries and guardians of divine philosophy. No other people can rightly understand or appreciate it, not even the Scotch; but it is the appointed special mission of the Germans to superintend and foster it; they are the favoured Emolpidæ to whom alone it is given to penetrate and expound its sacred mysteries. Sir William Hamilton would seem to assign to modern Rationalists a prerogative equally exalted, and equally exclusive as that which the patriotic fancy of Hegel ascribes to his countrymen. We do not mean to suggest that in doing so he sought to prejudice the interests of Religion; we acquit him of intentional hostility to revealed truth, and of everything like a systematic disparagement of its defenders. But, however innocent the design of the author may have been, the certain effect produced by thus perpetually citing and appealing to Deists, as if they had monopolised all knowledge, by perpetually glorifying their intellectual achievements, as if they, forsooth, were by excellence the thinkers of the age, the sole light in darkness, is to procure for them an admiration, a sympathy, an adhesion as injurious to Religion as it is to orthodox philosophy. Infidels are, at best, but the false prophets of science; and their utterances must ever have an evil tendency, and be the result of an evil inspiration. The heaviest misfortunes that could befall youth would be to be directed to accept them as guides. If there be grains of gold scattered through their writings, they must usually be come at through an atmosphere of pestilence and death. Sir William Hamilton is, of course, entitled to refer to them in such terms of eulogy as to him may seem appropriate; but, to our mind, it is a bad omen for what used to be called Protestantism, that the coryphæi of Rationalism should thus, at every turn, be proposed for the veneration of Young England, as the only true philosophers, the only profound thinkers, the only great and unprejudiced intellects of modern Europe. The admiration bestowed on the

authors insensibly confounds itself with admiration of their theories ; and even English Protestantism, notwithstanding its singular susceptibility of variations—notwithstanding its capability of accommodating its system of belief to the exigencies of each passing hour, could scarce bear at this moment to have another branch of German Rationalism engrafted on the Thirty-nine Articles.

Sir William Hamilton's partiality towards deistical writers may, perhaps, be accounted for, to some extent, by the fact that he estimates the value of a philosophical theory not so much by the degree of truth contained in it, as by the amount of intellectual energy which it is calculated to awaken. One of the ablest papers which he has written opens with a formal exposition of this view concerning the end of metaphysical studies. In cultivating them, we should, he holds, not be alarmed by an error ; on the contrary, an error has superior claims upon our attention and respect, provided only that it be a splendid one, and afford room for a larger outlay of mental activity than a more vulgar truth. "Plato has profoundly defined man the hunter of truth, for in this chase, as in others, the pursuit is all in all, the success comparatively nothing. Did the Almighty, says Lessing, holding in his right hand *Truth*, and in His left, *Search after Truth*, deign to proffer me the one I might prefer, in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request *Search after Truth*." We exist only as we energize ; *pleasure* is the reflex of unimpeded energy ; energy is the *mean* by which our faculties are developed ; and a higher energy the *end* which their development proposes. In action is thus contained the existence, happiness, improvement, and perfection of our being ; and knowledge is only precious as it may afford a stimulus to the exercise of our powers and the condition of their more complete activity." If knowledge be, indeed, valuable only in proportion to the excitement produced by the pursuit of it, Sir William Hamilton's predilection for infidel writers stands explained. They form a class of "hunters" who are not deterred by barrier or precipice ; and he who keeps up with them or follows close behind will not usually find cause to complain of lack of perilous adventure, or of the recklessness that wantons with danger. The wonderful Homeric steeds that could clear the whole earth at a bound, or the more eccentric charger that bore the rapt Mephistopheles through the fields of air, could

alone be brought to emulate the style or speed with which they urge the philosophic chase. Witness Schelling's theory, which professes to analyze our knowledge of the Infinite. Considerable energy and some slight development of even the "vision and the faculty divine" are required for the purpose of simply realizing what it means—and yet, who is the Christian that would say that *there* the pursuit was all in all, the conclusion arrived at comparatively nothing? If the truth be of no value, so far forth error can be of no harm. In deciding, therefore, between Schelling's doctrine of the Infinite, and the old Catholic doctrine, stated and defended by Sir William Hamilton, we should attend not so much to the truth of either as to the degree of mental power which the exposition of it evinces and is calculated to evoke in ourselves. If this be the real criterion which should direct our preference, we should not hesitate a moment to pronounce in favour of the German autotheist. We mean no disparagement when we say that Sir William's analysis, compared with his, holds, both as suggestive of new trains of thought, and as demanding an exuberance of mental life and action on the part of the reader, a rank somewhat analogous to that which would be awarded to a Pinnock's Catechism of Political Economy, if placed in competition with More's Utopia or Campanella's City of the Sun. But the knowledge of the truth is the great end of Philosophy, and the highest development of our faculties, however good and desirable, as it is not the end for which we were created, should not be proposed as the ultimate aim of our existence. To hold that truth is in itself valueless or insignificant, is virtually to tolerate and patronise error. Nor does Sir William Hamilton's proviso about "practice" count for much. Kant fancied that by acting upon a saving clause of nearly the same kind, he could supply an antidote against the godless philosophy set forth in the critic of Pure Reason; but Kant's attempt was a failure so egregious, and requiring so little prescience to have anticipated it, that men are compelled to suspect its design. What errors in a science having for its object the being and attributes of God—the nature and destiny of the soul—are practically harmless? Who is the umpire qualified to discriminate between what is perilous and what is not? and if there be an umpire so qualified, what are the means by which he may enforce his decisions? Is Kant's doctrine of practical moment? Is

Cousin's? Is it of no consequence to hold that we must for ever remain uncertain whether there be a reality corresponding with our idea of a Supreme Being—or to teach that the universe was not freely created by God, but is a necessary manifestation of His divine nature? Sir William Hamilton appears to think that the philosophical controversy on Idealism may be carried on without detriment to any of our interests, and that the affirmative or negative may be strenuously defended without disturbing any of the established relations of common life. In a college or a school-room it may; it is an excellent subject for a thesis; but when a system of idealism is vindicated not merely by way of mental discipline, or for display of skill, but for the purpose of altering ancient opinions and commanding the assent of such circles as Cousin lectured, or Berkely wrote for, the matter assumes a widely different aspect. It is impossible that men should cling to one set of views in philosophy, and to a contradicting set of views in theology. The intellect is incapable of rendering such service to two masters. If a man is seriously convinced in philosophy that there is no first efficient cause, how can he rationally believe in the existence of God? Sir William Hamilton himself asserts that Idealism is incompatible with the Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation, and that many of the more acute schoolmen were urged by their principles to the very verge of the magic circle, and would infallibly have entered it, had they not been warned off by the light that streams from the lamp of the sanctuary. It may be that he would not consider the rejection of Transubstantiation a practical matter, but to a Catholic this belief is as dear as Christianity itself, and Christianity could not survive its extinction. The sad end of Lammenais, still fresh in the memory of our readers, but too strongly illustrates the danger of admitting false theories in philosophy, and the impossibility of dissociating speculative error from practice. What was originally the occasion of his melancholy fall? One of the most gifted and zealous of the French clergy, he had, whilst still young, become known throughout Europe for the ability and devotedness with which he maintained the sacred cause of truth and of the Church's honour. In an evil hour he undertook to speculate upon one of the most intricate problems of metaphysics, and deviating from the right path here, he was led step by step through the many scenes of his strange life,

ever receding further from the temple; till at last he cared not to look behind upon it any more, or to remember that he had ever knelt before its altar. Sir William Hamilton probably imagines that in the case of Lamennais the pursuit of truth was all in all, the conclusion arrived at comparatively nothing. He quotes him among his great authorities, and mayhap he is persuaded that his life was a triumph, and his end honourable.

John Stuart Mill is another distinguished name in the history of modern Logic. He is the author of a system, and is at the head of a school. He is said to be a profound thinker, though it is by no means difficult to perceive an occasional irregularity and want of consecutiveness in his thoughts. The title of his work, "A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, being a connected view of the principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation," is, to some extent, appropriately prefixed to it.

It is, probably, unnecessary to remind the reader of the two great problems which Bacon proposed to solve in the *Instauratio Magna*,—a general classification of the sciences, and the invention of some new intellectual instrument which should supersede the Aristotelic syllogism in the investigation of truth. The first was a gigantic scheme; and even the genius of "the greatest of mankind" was incompetent to work it out. The subsequent failure, however, of D'Alembert, of Stewart, of Arere, though they addressed themselves to the task with the advantage of having, at least, a rude map in their hand to guide their steps, attested the superior force of the master-mind that originally conceived the project, and carried its accomplishment even so far. In constructing a philosophy of induction, no less than in this attempted classification, Bacon is not admitted to have attained complete success. Both efforts, however praiseworthy, were imperfect. The map of the sciences required to be redrawn, to have the boundaries more clearly defined, and the latitudes more accurately determined, to have omissions supplied, and errors corrected. In the same way, the new instrument intended to prove the futility of those long-cherished theories on which rested the immortal fame of Plato and of Aristotle, to sweep away the ancient idols of the intellect, and to place knowledge for ever after on a foundation as sure and solid as the earth, is supposed to be capable of a much more extensive application than had been contemplated by him



who devised it. At the same time that Auguste Comte, in France, has been essaying to remedy the first of these defects, Mr. Mill has undertaken to give his own countrymen instruction concerning the true philosophy of Induction. The Positivism of Comte, then, and Mr. Mill's System of Logic we, in common with most writers who have spoken of them, regard as mutual commentaries upon each other, or rather we regard the one as a methodical exposition of principles evolved, and carried to their legitimate consequences by the other.

According to Mr. Mill's view of Logic, it "is common ground on which the partisans of Hartley and of Reid, of Locke, and of Kant, may meet and join hands." He adds: "And I can conscientiously affirm that no one proposition laid down in this work has been adopted for the sake of establishing, or with any reference to its fitness for being employed in establishing preconceived opinions in any department of knowledge, or of enquiry on which the speculative world is still undecided." We will not enter upon any examination concerning the accuracy of Mr. Mill's notion of Logic in the abstract. We admit that there is little or nothing in formal Logic, which, of itself, tends to the prejudice or vindication of any theory; philosophical or religious. The sword may be keen and well-tempered, but whether it be employed for destruction or for defence, for good or for evil, on the side of right, or of iniquity, depends upon the will of him who holds it in his hand. But surely, in the hands of Mr. Mill, Logic is not the innocent thing he describes it. We know not whether he endeavoured to persuade himself that the speculative world is still undecided on the existence of God, on the freedom of man's will, on miracles, as the seal and proof of divine revelation; but we know that a reader left to form his judgment upon these subjects, and others of almost equal moment, with no safer light to guide him than is supplied by the observations of Mr. Mill, would be very likely to assure himself that there were, indeed, doubtful questions which a man, resolved to accept nothing but real genuine truth had better leave untouched. Our author does not in any part of his work deny in terms the existence of God, but he everywhere ignores it, and insinuates that we cannot know it with certainty. He even covertly impugns it. Discussing the Law of Universal Causation, he observes:

"Of the efficient causes of phenomena, or whether any such causes exist at all, I am not called upon to give an opinion. The notion of causation is deemed to imply a mysterious and most powerful tie, such as cannot, or at least does not exist between any physical fact, and that other physical fact on which it is invariably consequent, and which is popularly termed its cause, and thence is deduced the supposed necessity of ascending higher into the essences and inherent constitution of things, to find the true cause, the cause which is not only followed by, but actually *produces* the effect.....No such doctrine will be found in the following pages. But neither will there be found anything incompatible with it."

If there be not an efficient cause, there is no God. Mr. Mill, therefore, is not called upon to give an opinion whether God exists or not! The necessity of admitting God's existence he describes as a supposed necessity, nor will any such doctrine be found in his pages! In dealing with the theory of universal causation, it might, no doubt, have been beside Mr. Mill's purpose to enter upon any discussion concerning efficient causes; but it was equally foreign to his purpose to suggest the atheism that lurks in the above passage. Though any such doctrine as that there exists a First Great Efficient Cause, or God, will not be found in the "*System of Logic*," the author, however, pledges himself that neither will there be found anything incompatible with it. This assurance is not adhered to; the same chapter in which it is given contains a formal and elaborate disquisition on the existence of God: and though the writer has recourse to the ordinary stratagem of seeking to disguise his views by a dexterous change of terms, as well as by a studied use of the plural number, and by not using capital letters—from discretion, it may be, or perhaps from contempt, his opinions, notwithstanding, are but too transparent. Every one knows that to destroy the idea of an Efficient Cause, is to destroy the idea of God. If the earth and the fulness thereof be not the Lord's, then, truly does the fool say in his heart that there is no God. The Universe has not sprung from beneath His Almighty Hand as one physical fact necessarily follows another. It has not come from Him as light comes from the circling sun, or as rain comes from the overcharged clouds, or as a flower rises from its stem, or as bloom and verdure are awakened by the Spring. He does not stand towards the world, or towards those per-

manent and original natural agents of which Mr. Mill speaks in the relation of a physical antecedent to its consequent. He created, that is by a free act of His sovereign will—an act from which He might have entirely abstained without prejudice to His divine attributes, and to which He could not have been compelled by any exigency resulting from the nature of these things themselves, He produced from no pre-existing material those “permanent primeval agents.” He it was who gave them being; He it was who formed them; it was He who established those very laws and uniformities which are now adduced to disprove His existence. And if He be not the efficient cause of the Universe, its Author and Creator, then is He not its cause at all; He has not merely preceded it, but He has produced it; otherwise there is no God. When, therefore, Mr. Mill elaborately revives the atheistical principle of Hume, and argues that men act without reason in admitting an efficient cause, in admitting any other than simply physical causes which produce their effect, as cold causes ice, or a spark causes an explosion of gunpowder, what are we to think of his assurance that though the doctrine that there is a God should not be found in his pages, neither should anything be found in them incompatible with it? To hold that phenomena are produced by the will of some sentient being he designates as an original Fetichism, springing from a natural tendency of the mind to be always attempting to facilitate its conception of unfamiliar facts by assimilating them to others which are familiar. Thales and Hippo, he proceeds, held that moisture was the universal cause and eternal element of which all other things were but the infinitely various sensible manifestations; when Anaximenes predicated the same thing of air, Pythagoras of numbers, and the like, they all thought they had found a real explanation; and were content to rest in this explanation as ultimate.....Moisture, or air, or numbers carried to their minds a precisely similar impression (as the existence of a supreme volition or God does to ours) of making that intelligible which was otherwise inconceivable, and gave the same full satisfaction to the demands of their conceptive faculty. It is not by accident then, but on principle, that Mr. Mill, in reconstructing the Categories of Aristotle, has excluded God from among real nameable things; it would have been utterly inconsistent with this theory of universal causation

to have introduced among existences a First Cause, a Necessary Being, the Author, Creator, and Efficient Cause of all else. Accordingly, no place is left in the list for Him! There is no such nameable thing as God! We will not pause to examine whether Mr. Mill is correct, or otherwise, in representing the Aristotelian categories as being both defective and redundant; but, at all events, it is obvious that the religious views of the old Pagan may well challenge comparison with those of the writer who, in an enlightened age and a Christian country, undertook to recommence those categories under better auspices.

After having excluded a First Cause from the physical universe, it would have been inconsistent and illogical to recognize an overruling Providence, whose will guides the moral and social destinies of man. Day after day, the earth revolves on its axis; but it is vain and unphilosophical to search for an invisible hand that directs its rotation; it is all the result of a mechanical law, of whose origin and establishment we must ever remain ignorant. So is it also with the vast machine of human society. It is puerile to contend that there is an omniscient eye continually watching over it—an almighty arm continually stretched forth for its conservation and government. It is imbecility to refer, in explanation of any of its phases, even of the most singular events which seem to cast a mysterious shadow upon its history, to the intervention of a supreme controlling will. All that has occurred in it from the beginning, has occurred in virtue of the very same kind of laws which make a certain physical consequent follow its proper antecedent, and may be accounted for on a principle perfectly analogous to that which accounts for the succession of day and night. The rise and fall of nations, the spread of one religion and the decay of another, reputed orthodoxy and despised superstition, the car of Juggernaut, the mosque, the Christian temple, all are but logical corollaries naturally flowing from the historical events that preceded them; and in a few years to come, may be explained upon purely natural grounds, with as much facility and precision as people now descant upon the opening of a flower, or the ebbing of the sea. Such is Mr. Mill's "Logic of the moral sciences." He will not at all admit the will of God as a controlling or modifying element in human affairs. He would account for the destruction of Jerusalem, and for the diffusion of Christi-

anity, just as he would account for the repeal of the corn laws, and would no more consent to recognize the special intervention of a divine agency in the one case than in the other. "All phenomena of society," he holds, "are but phenomena of human nature generated by the action of outward circumstances upon human beings." He will condescend to no exception: all are generated by the action of outward circumstances—Christianity as well as Paganism—the release of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt no less than the American Revolution.

But, as we have already intimated, Mr. Mill makes no secret of rejecting miracles. He repeats the substance of Hume's celebrated essay on this subject, and enters into a formal vindication of the profane Sceptic's theory. "A miracle," he says, "considered merely as an extraordinary fact, may be satisfactorily certified by our senses, or by testimony; but nothing can ever prove that it *is* a miracle; there is still another possible hypothesis, that of its being the result of some unknown natural cause; and this possibility cannot be so completely shut out as to leave no alternative, but that of admitting the existence and intervention of a being superior to nature." And further on in the chapter, on the Grounds of Disbelief, he reproduces in a new form the old objection against the credibility of miracles taken from the alleged conflict between the two certainties, and boasts that it still remains unanswered. According to Mr. Mill, then, though at the bidding of a man, proclaiming that he has a commission from on high, the most extraordinary events should occur, and be cited by him in proof that his legation is divine, still we cannot be quite sure that the whole affair is not a delusion and an imposture. We cannot be absolutely certain that a being superior to nature does really interpose to produce these events, since, in point of fact, it is by no means impossible that they may be the result of some undiscovered law of nature. Let us suppose that one of the Apostles by a single prayer suddenly restores speech to the dumb, or sight to the blind, or life to a decomposed body; the witnesses might act rationally in believing the fact that a man who had been dumb had recovered the faculty of speech, or that a body which had been lifeless was reanimated, but they could never safely and without some just grounds for suspicion of error, conclude that the event, however extraordinary, did not take

place in conformity to some unknown law of nature, or in consequence of some secret combination of circumstances, which no supernatural agency was required to produce. Here is a doctrine which, in sooth, annihilates the evidences of Christianity—the whole mass of them, collectively and in detail. To abolish miracles, is to leave the human intellect without one solid reason for accepting revelation. They are admitted to be the chief, if not the only motives of credibility upon the strength of which religion claims our assent and our homage; because without them it is impossible to be certain that religion is not a forgery and an imposture.

We will conclude our notice of the “System of Logic” by a brief statement of Mr. Mill’s theory regarding Liberty and Necessity. It is a just logical inference from his doctrine on causation. We have already seen that Mr. Mill admits the existence of no closer relation between any cause and its effect, than that of antecedent and consequent. The law of sequence or physical succession prevails throughout the universe: but between no two phenomena can we discover a stricter connexion or dependence than this law illustrates. Hence, he maintains that it is absurd to represent man’s will as self-determinative under any circumstances; it is always necessarily determined by a preponderance or balance of motives. In the will there resides no intrinsic energy, power, force which controls and exercises absolute dominion over any of its own volitions,—every act is a necessary consequent, not upon the bidding of the will itself, but the inevitable result of certain motives which may have been operating upon that faculty previously to the performance of the act. The sovereign will, after all, is no better than a ship launched upon the wide sea, without a helm, or rather with no guiding hand upon the tiller. Mr. Mill holds that it has no choice but to follow the wind and the tide. The wind, to be sure, may change, and no mortal can predict its course; but whithersoever it bloweth, onward in the same direction moves the unresisting sail over the bosom of the water.

“The question whether the law of causality applies in the same strict sense to human actions as to other phenomena, is the celebrated controversy concerning the freedom of the will, which, from at least as far back as the time of Pelagius, has divided both the philosophical and religious world. The affirmative opinion is commonly called the doctrine of necessity, as asserting human volitions



and actions to be necessary and inevitable. The negative maintains that the will is not determined like other phenomena by an antecedent, but determines itself.....I have already made it sufficiently appear that the former of these opinions is that which I consider the true one.....Correctly stated, the doctrine called Philosophical Necessity is simply this:—that if we knew a person thoroughly, and knew all the inducements which are acting upon him, we could foretell his conduct with as much certainty as we can predict any physical event."

A considerable number of ingenious explanations, arguments, and illustrations are brought to bear in support of the cold materialism which everywhere in this chapter on Liberty and Necessity protrudes itself from beneath the thin disguise which it is attempted to throw over it. It would be foreign to our present purpose to undertake a formal refutation or exposure of the false principles and illegitimate assumptions upon which this theory of Necessarianism is founded. No extraordinary degree of logical acumen is required to detect that it involves throughout a *petitio principii*. Mr. Mill takes for granted, that the phenomena of mind are subject to, and regulated by precisely the same laws which control the material world; and hence, because he fancies that it is impossible to discover the operation of any efficient cause or agent in the latter, he infers that a consistent philosopher must exclude efficient causation from the former also. We hesitate whether to designate this an intrepid application, or merely a repetition, of Hume's celebrated analysis. It certainly implies that all mental operations,—even the most intimate operations, which take place in the will, and which are the result of its immediate action,—are subject to a law precisely the same as that which makes one billiard ball move in consequence of an impulse communicated to it by another. Now, it may be that in these phenomena of the external world, which fall under the observation of the senses, no type of active efficient causation can be recognised, and pointed out in answer to Hume; a piece of wax melting before fire, one billiard ball set in motion by another, even those motions of the muscles and body which are consequent upon corresponding acts of the will, such phenomena as these may not, to the mind of a metaphysician bent upon pushing analysis to the last extreme, furnish an adequate, satisfactory illustration of efficient power and causation. But,

is it, therefore, lawful to assume that the immediate action of the will itself, and the volitions which are elicited by it, approach not nearer to the required type than do those mere modifications of inert matter? Where, in the material world, does there subsist a relation between any two sensible phenomena resembling that relation which consciousness proves to subsist between the will and some of its volitions? I am certain, from the testimony of consciousness, that I am free to elicit a volition, I can produce it, or abstain from it, or produce the contrary of it. I determine its continuation, I can break it off, reproduce it, suspend it again, and again revive it at pleasure; and yet my will stands to this volition, according to Mr. Mill, in exactly the same relation which a physical antecedent bears to its consequent, a spark, for example, to the explosion of gunpowder. And upon this unproved and extravagant assumption, he bases his whole theory of Liberty and Necessity. Nor is he less mistaken in his alleged interpretation of universal experience, than in thus gratuitously supposing that his cherished doctrine of causation admits no exception, and may be brought even to prove that the human will is not self-determinative. It is usual, no doubt, to calculate what a man's conduct is likely to be, in a given instance, from our knowledge of his previous character, and of the inducements which may be operating upon him for the time. But does this imply that every one is internally convinced that there is not a self-determining power in the human will, and that its acts are always the necessary and inevitable result of motives from the influence of which upon the mind it would be as easy for us (if we could but know them accurately) to predict the consequent act, as to foretell that "death would follow from poison?" If the experience of mankind is appealed to, and fairly construed, it will not be found to support or to warrant any such inference. At the same time that we endeavour to become acquainted with a man's disposition, and to ascertain the motives present to his mind, in order thus to calculate the line of action which he shall probably adopt, we are, in the very midst of all this speculation, perfectly assured that he has full power to make up his mind and to determine for himself after the fashion which best pleases him. We do not fancy that his conduct is the result of the motives, in the same way that a physical consequent is the result of its antecedent. The motives

may influence the will more or less in the adoption of a particular course; but all acts which are said to be free are to be attributed not to the pressure of the motives as their adequate cause, but to the intrinsic force—the self-determining energy of the will. Thus, to repeat our former illustrations, we may predict the course of a ship, if we know the port from which she sails, and the place for which she is bound, taking in moreover as essential elements for a correct calculation, the state of the weather, the condition of the vessel, the competence of those on board, et cætera. Where we have full data in such cases, we place the most unqualified reliance on the accuracy of our speculations; but, at the same time, we never dream that the ship's course is not regulated by the orders of the captain, or that he who holds the helm has not the power to turn the prow just as he pleases, towards any one of the cardinal points. Because, argues Mr. Mill, universal experience teaches us that if we knew a man's character and the inducements present to his mind, when he is about to act, we might safely predict what the act itself would be; it is, therefore, lawful to infer that the act is not the effect of any self-determining power in the will of him who performs it, but a necessary and inevitable consequence of the inducements operating upon him. By a perfect parity of reasoning it might be concluded that a helmsman has no control in directing the motion of a ship, because with certain data, such as have been alluded to above, it would be easy to anticipate the whole course of her voyage.

Mr. Mill, Sir William Hamilton, and Dr. Whately are acknowledged to be the revivers, and are undoubtedly the ablest representatives of logical science in England. We have not gone outside their writings to ascertain the theological tendencies of Modern Logic. The originators or restorers of a study generally sow the seed from which springs the abundance natural to its more advanced state. The reader, however, who would comprehend the true position in which Logic and mental philosophy stand towards revealed religion in England, must interrogate the disciples and followers, as well as the masters; otherwise, he would form his judgment upon inadequate grounds. For a correct estimate, it is necessary to inspect the writings of those who fancy that their mission is to develop and propagate, and mayhap to improve, in many respects, the doctrines contained in such works as those placed at

the head of this article. Progress, that is a greater latitude or a greater audacity of opinion on the part of the adherents than would have been countenanced or tolerated by the founders, has ever been the main characteristic of each new school that has added a new error to the history of philosophy. Whatever little capital in favour of irreligion and impiety may, with any degree of speciousness, be made out of the views of a distinguished thinker is always sure to be seized upon by some detective intellect in the ranks of infidelity, and turned to account in spreading and strengthening its baleful empire. Spinoza maintained that Pantheism, with all its blasphemous consequences, was no more than a logical evolution of the principles of the Cartesian system. Locke's theory concerning the origin of knowledge, led to the "transformed sensations," and "the statue" of Condillac, and the name of the acute Englishman is even still identified with a gross debasing materialism, which would account for man's present existence as it was accounted for by Virey or Volney, and which would leave to him no better hope of a hereafter than it leaves to the beasts that perish. Kant, whether in good faith or otherwise, maintained that his philosophy, practically speaking, left religion and society much the same that it had found them; and one of Kant's disciples, professionally lecturing a body of German youth, hesitated not to utter the notorious, appalling blasphemy: "Gentlemen, at next class we shall make —." Royer Collard distanced the common sense theory of Reid, and Cousin outran Royer Collard, his master and friend. We have but to recal any epoch in the history of modern philosophy to be assured that wherever the authority of the Church has not been recognised as paramount, the faintest deistical tendency in an original thinker always gradually developed, as if by a fixed necessary law, and but too often ended in turning to ashes in the breasts of disciples and imitators every holier feeling that had taught them to look with reverence upon the altar, or with Christian hope beyond the grave. The lesson thus inculcated by history is confirmed and further illustrated by the present character and tendency of speculation in England. Even to a casual observer it must be apparent that at the present day all the old forms of English Protestantism are rapidly disappearing beneath the shadow of Infidelity—not merely a practical infidelity of life and action—but Infidelity reduced

to system, propounded in theorems, and defended by show of argument. Every hour this new gospel is conquering fresh ground, and winning fresh adherents. Some of the keenest intellects in the country are among its champions and propagandists; the most brilliant periodicals are its avowed organs; some of the ablest books that come from the British press are written to sustain it. At no other period since the Reformation have Protestant principles been carried out to their legitimate consequences with more intrepid consistency than in this our day. It had been foreseen from the beginning that those principles might, perchance, owing to the force of circumstances, evolve themselves gradually, so that many years might elapse before their true import could be fully appreciated. The seed has matured, has put forth its flowers, and the fruit is now almost ripe. Many influences have, no doubt, co-operated with the rise of the new systems of Philosophy to make Deism popular in England; but even though infidelity had no ally but Philosophy alone, it would be scarce possible in a Protestant community, that religion should long successfully resist it. It has been observed no less truthfully than sententiously by Hazlitt, that "ideas descend, sentiments ascend." Let a theory once obtain sure ground, and make itself fashionable among the aristocracy of intellect, it will infallibly find its way downwards, and mingle with the household thoughts of the people, unless where it is denounced by the Church. Hence, in every country throughout the continent of Europe, Protestant opinion has uniformly reflected the philosophic theory dominant for the time, has varied with it, has been ultimately absorbed by it, and once identified with it, has never been able to sever or survive the debasing alliance. This is notoriously true of Germany, and it is equally true of the Protestantism that once flourished in a little corner of France. The tide of Rationalism once allowed to break in over the land in which the Reformation had its origin, has flowed on, rising over each fair green spot, till almost every vestige of Christianity now lies under it as under a dead sea.

During the lifetime of the first Reformers, and even after their system of belief had outgrown the swathing bands and the cradle, shrewd precaution was adopted in Germany for the purpose of guarding it against the poisoned tooth of Infidelity. Luther had probably foreseen

from the beginning the danger to Protestantism that lurked in an alliance with, or even a toleration of, philosophy. Accordingly, some of his most characteristic and most vehement denunciations are fulminated against it. Not content with devoting Aristotle and the Schoolmen to Hades, he proclaims, moreover, as if to remove, for ever, all misconception concerning the boasted strength and perfectibility of man's intellect, that human Reason, even at best, is but a treacherous and imbecile faculty. It is only when employed in the contemplation of divine truth, in investigating the evidences of Christianity, and in unfolding the hidden meaning of the Sacred Word, that we can safely trust it. But when it ventures to speculate upon matters pertaining to its own natural and legitimate sphere, it becomes utterly unreliable. In fact, Luther represented Reason and Revelation as two independent oracles, whose utterances may, perhaps, sometimes coincide, but may just as often conflict with and contradict each other. A palpable and genuine truth in Philosophy, he contends, may be a downright falsehood in Theology—and, *vice-versa*, a dogma in which a man makes an act of faith as a Christian, he is privileged to reject and laugh at as a metaphysician. Luther's paradoxical and disparaging estimate of Philosophy was countenanced, if not formally subscribed to, by Melancthon. Both evidently regarded it with jealous apprehension. Both saw the danger of trying to enlist it in the service of Protestantism—and dreading to trust it as an ally, or subordinate, they resolved to evoke against it a general feeling of suspicion and obloquy. In men who set out by according to human reason such sublime prerogatives as were accorded to it by the Reformers, this procedure was glaringly inconsistent. If Reason deserves to be reproached with inherent weakness and liability to error, the admonition is surely more pertinent, and more called for, when Reason presumes to sit in Judgment upon Revelation—than when it simply addresses itself to the investigation of natural truth. It was only in matters of faith, however, and of profound mystery, that the Reformers recognized its authority and strength; there it held a sceptre, while outside that dread domain it was armed but with a reed. By thus systematically depreciating the power of Reason, when employed in mere Philosophy, the early Reformers acted inconsistently, but they saved Protestantism—and prevented it from



being prematurely merged in Rationalism and Infidelity. They narrowed and compromised the principle of the Reformation for the sake of the theory which they contrived to build upon it. Boasting that they had emancipated the human intellect they only set it over the Bible; but they refused to let it manage its own affairs,—and thus the truths of Revelation, though sadly disfigured and corrupted, were protected for a time from formal scepticism—and were not yet doomed to positive rejection and scorn. The early Reformers in Germany, compared with their descendants, remind one of the unsightly band of monsters in *Comus*:—the charming-rod had changed their human *countenance* into all forms of wolf, and bear, and bearded goat, but in other parts they might be said to have still retained the shape and lineaments of men. With the decline of the Pietism of Spener, however, there sprung up in the German mind a sudden and ominous predilection for Philosophy. Indeed, it was impossible that a people who are described as having such a strong natural tendency to metaphysical speculation should have remained indifferent in the midst of that great intellectual revolution created by the genius of Descartes. His writings found their way, and were discussed everywhere throughout Europe. The novelty and the boldness of his system would be sure to have recommended it, even indifferently of its supposed value. It was a grand conception. It professed to disenchant the human mind from the spell of Scholasticism; it was to awaken mankind from the dreams that had been deluding them for ages, and to place Philosophy for the first time on a more solid and comprehensive basis. Moreover, the fundamental principle of Cartesianism must have presented itself to the judgment of a reflecting Protestant as marvellously like the counterpart and complement of the fundamental principle of Protestantism. At all events the Protestants of Germany entered at once into the spirit of the new philosophy. The warnings of Luther and of Melancthon were lost upon the generation that was privileged to meditate upon the profound and luminous disquisitions of Leibnitz. Protestantism soon bore melancholy evidence of the change. The Germans could not continue to be Christians and philosophers. Naturally inclined to introspection and mysticism, they commenced to substitute the wildest and dreamiest speculations for the revealed word

of God. Outside the recesses of their own minds they cared not to seek for the law or the Gospel. Their philosophy operated upon them like opium; it placed them in the midst of an unreal transcendental world of which each one might fancy himself the presiding deity—and from which he would be enabled to bestow upon the children of men an indefinite number of phantasies equally nebulous and sublime. It is really pitiful to contemplate the progress of Rationalism in Germany,—to behold each new theory outstripping its short-lived predecessor in unfathomable nonsense and absurdity—to find the history of our Redemption turned into a myth—and all that we believe and hope in as Christians superseded by systems that would be deemed extravagant in Laputa. To such end has philosophy conducted Protestantism in the country where the Reformation had its birth.

The destiny of Protestantism throughout other parts of the Continent has not been very dissimilar. Philosophy has nowhere come in contact with it, but to absorb or annihilate it. The great intellectual revolution which convulsed Europe in the last century was professedly the war of philosophy against Christianity. Let the light of science, said the enemies of faith, once stream in upon the sanctuary and it will quickly reveal how hollow are the creeds that men believe—how vain and impotent the idols which they worship. And what has been the result of that struggle? \* “It is surely remarkable that neither the moral revolution of the eighteenth century, nor the moral counter-revolution of the nineteenth should in any perceptible degree have added to the domain of Protestantism. During the former period whatever was lost to Catholicism was lost also to Christianity; during the latter whatever was regained by Christianity in Catholic countries was regained also by Catholicism.” At this hour it can scarce be denied that, outside Prussia, and one or two northern states, Protestantism is extinct on the Continent. Wherever the traveller turns his eye he beholds indeed two adverse camps placed against each other as of old; the war upon whose issue eternity depends continues to be waged with unabated vigour, but the leader of the armies of Belial has raised a new cry, and devised a new inscription for his banner. The Catholic Church has now

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\* Macaulay's Essays.

to contend not with Protestantism, but with infidelity, the offspring and successor of Protestantism. When not employed in resisting the insolent Erastianism of Kings who have been taught to regard the altar as a footstool, she has now only to guard against men, who, under pretence of exalting human nature would entirely abolish Christianity.

Looking at the present position of affairs in England it is not difficult to foresee that there too the Church will soon have no other enemies to deal with than Erastianism and Infidelity.

ART. VI.—1. *Die Gesellschaft Jesu, ihr Zweck, ihre Satzungen, Geschichte, Aufgabe und Stellung in der Gegenwart.* Von F. J. BUSS. In Zwei Abtheilungen. Mainz: Kunze, 1853.

2. *Die Jesuiten, Des Ordens Geschichte, religiöse und wissenschaftliche Leistungen.* Von J. A. M. BRUHL. Mainz: Wirth John, 1853.

3. *Leben des Heiligen Ignatius Von Loyola.* Von GENELLI. Innsbruck, 1853.

4. *Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. nach unedirten Staatschriften aus dem geheimen Archive des Vaticans.* Von Professor Dr. AUGUSTIN THEINER, Priester des Oratoriums, Consultor der heiligen Congregation des Index u. s. w. Firmin Didot, Gebrüder, Leipsig und Paris, 1853.

5. *Clemens XIV. und die Jesuiten nach dem Werke "Geschichte des Pontificats XIV. Von A. Theiner."* Herausgegeben Von Josef Burkhard Lea. Luzern, Kaisersche Buchhandlung, 1853.

6. *Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip.* Von Professor Dr. F. J. STAHL. Berlin, Schultze, 1853.

7. *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, ou Notice Bibliographique de tous les Ouvrages publiés par les Membres de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la fondation de l'Ordre jusqu'à nos jours, et des apologies des controverses des critiques littéraires suscitées à leur sujet.* Par les R. R. PERES, AUGUSTIN et ALOYS de BACKER, de la même Compagnie. 1ère Serie. 1. vol. 8vo. Paris, 1846.

8. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Par CRETINEAU JOLY. 6 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1846.

THE Jesuit, like Hercules after death, is fated to bear a double life, and like him to have always one representative in Erebus and another in Olympus. Thus, while the heroic shade vainly sought to deceive its melancholy by felling the ghosts of monsters with the phantom of a club, the substance of the hero translated to the courts of his father, and wedded to immortal youth, seems to have had slight knowledge of a duplicate Hercules elsewhere. Without pursuing the illustration through its rather too poetical analogies, we shall only remark, what few can have failed to observe, that there are two distinct classes of Jesuit, the one to be found in the higher regions of invention, the other crossing us in the coarse realities of life. Of the mythical Jesuit, we are not, to be sure, in a position to speak from observation, but we have long been made familiar with his character and habits, by the platform oratory, and popular literature of England. He peoples the twilight gloom of Protestant imagination with countless swarms, but is supposed to become more distinctly visible in a privileged building in the Strand, called Philadelphieion, in some sense unknown to etymology. There, when the streams of turbid eloquence have commingled and been sufficiently swilled by the ministrants at this formidable rite, the shadowy Jesuits flock about the pool, and are studied at leisure by the initiated. But though constantly in process of being dragged into light, the Jesuit, it is an established fact, has never been seen out of disguise. He borrows any shape and plays every part with equal readiness. He gives his outward adherence to any form of worship that suits his purpose, and even contrives with a malignity peculiar to himself, to have been born into that precise communion. He is a well-known member of several Wesleyan conferences; he has headed an Erastian faction in the General Assembly of Scotland, and is more than suspected of backsliding in the free Kirk. He is at present on the episcopal bench of the Establishment, and has died there more than once, his personal property in each of the latter instances having been sworn under half a million sterling in the province of Canterbury, and the same having been distributed in due course amongst promising young Jesuits, his sons and daughters. His occupations are as numerous and contradictory as those of the "constant reader" or "old subscriber," but he is supposed to incline more particularly to framing marriage brok-

age contracts, or catching bargains with expectant heirs. The heads of houses in both universities, the visitors of Maynooth, including the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and all ministers of state without exception, have at one time or another been affiliated to the Order; nor is it quite clear that Lord Shaftesbury, or Mr. Spooner, can always hope to escape the withering suspicion. Henry IV. of France declared that, were he to undertake anything in favour of the Church, he should be looked on as a Jesuit;\* the Pastor Jurieu implicates the Jesuits in the death of Charles I.;† the Dutch Protestants ascribed to them the assassination of Maurice of Orange,‡ and the notorious Pombal accused them of intriguing with England for the invasion and conquest of Portugal.§ An honest and simple-minded Briton has, in fact, no means of escaping from the all-pervading and invisible freemasonry by which he is encompassed.

Never having had intercourse or contact of any kind with this description of Jesuit, our information in respect of him is proportionately scant, but of the vulgar kind who are subject to the perception of corporeal organs, and live in houses made with hands, we may be expected to have some knowledge. They are by no means difficult of detection, and their occupations which throw them continually in our way, though not of the nature ascribed to them, are neither fewer nor less various than supposed. The Jesuits are to be found in almost any place, at home or abroad. They have churches, pulpits, confessionals, colleges, missions, and a splendid literature, with wide-spreading relations growing out of each. You may meet them in London or Dublin affecting secrecy or disguise as little as yourself, and should your inquiries carry you to the hunting ground of the Red man, or the Roman observatory, you may find them compiling an Iroquois grammar, or discovering a new planet, as the case may be. They are in open connection with the university of London, they have universities of their own in the United States, and

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\* Hist. de La Société de Jésus par Crétineau Joly, T. ii. p. 48.

† Politique du Clergé de France, ou Entretiens Curieux. 2ieme Entretien par Pierre Jurieu.

‡ Sica Trajica Comiti Mauritio a Jesuitis aiunt ut Calvinistæ intentata. Costa.

§ Letter of Pombal to Count D'a Cunha. 20 June, 1767.

their colleges multiply in France, under the inspection and control of a sufficiently sharp-sighted government, they civilize the forçats at Toulon without an effort at concealment, and govern agricultural colonies in Algiers, with the countenance and co-operation of authority; they plant their professional chairs in the halls of the Sapienza, or lecture in the clay-built ovens of Madura. In fine, they are the Jesuits with whom history and experience are conversant, who offer something to study, something to discuss, something to grapple with; whose action has always been definite in object, uniform in direction, and appreciable in result; and to neglect the study of whom, is to leave unattempted one of the deepest problems that could be offered to our investigation.

The history of the Jesuits may be compiled from materials so authentic as to exclude all speculation, and so accessible as to require but moderate industry, yet the effect of some excellent essays has been marred by a certain apologetic strain which for many reasons we could wish to see abandoned. When you come to speak of the Jesuits, there is a demand for impartiality, which few historians will find it possible to meet, for the Jesuits have exasperated their enemies and attached their friends in a precisely equal degree. But while a friendly historian if judicious, will forbear to run after an impassive serenity beyond his reach, he will equally avoid that tone of rhetorical panegyric which can serve no other purpose than to throw suspicion on his facts. For although no objection lies against an apology professedly such, the historian supposing him to favour the Jesuits, must proceed on the assumption that the facts supply their justification, and this being so, he will neither colour a narrative nor force an inference. And it is to the facts, after all, that the safest appeal of the Jesuits will lie. The speculative tendency of their teaching, and its influence upon society, calculated *à priori*, the imputed laxity of their ethics, the questions of probableism, and tyrannicide in all their breadth and depth have been exhausted and dropped, and revived and exhausted again. It is not the fact of such a proposition having been originated by such a casuist, or merely adopted, nor the greater or smaller amount of currency it may have in the society, that will determine the influence of Jesuit theology outside the schools. That influence had outgrown speculation some two hundred years ago. It is,



and has long been, an ascertainable fact. It has shaped events and moulded generations; it has been, at least partially, withdrawn: it has been revived to a certain extent, and has fluctuated since its revival. We have, therefore, every available material for estimating the nature of that influence as exhibited in the life and conversation of those who exercised, as well as of those who had to feel it. No man will pretend that an influence so subtle, so penetrating, so universal, could fail to record its own increase or diminution in a corresponding state of public morals. If we suppose the Jesuit theology incompatible with a high standard of morality, the spread of Jesuit doctrine will be accompanied by a proportionate depression of morals, and if we take up the contrary hypothesis, the opposite result is equally inevitable. Public morality has fluctuated violently enough from the hour that Ignatius first operated on it by plunging neck-deep into a freezing pond to rebuke the libertinism of a friend, to the hour when Pompadour and Pombal, moralists of another kind, annihilated for ever, as they believed, the influence of the Jesuits. That influence has registered all its variations in history, and certainly during its long and stormy reign, the Christian community, kings and people, had not withdrawn to the catacombs, and the investigator has no occasion to restore battered reliefs, to wrangle learnedly over symbols, or coax a decayed manuscript to part with its scandal. It is all a question of facts and statistics, recent or cotemporary. If the Jesuit corruption have wrought corruption, well and good,—nothing can be more in course of nature; but if those who were supposed to pervert, and those who were in process of perversion, are unimpeachable, alike; then men have been gathering grapes of thorns and figs of thistles, and the Jesuits have cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

With the slight draw-back of that apologetic tone we have noticed, or as a lawyer would call it, the fault of argumentativeness, we are indebted to Herr Buss for an authentic and well-digested collection of facts, classified in a way that the marvellous variety of the subject would seem to render indispensable, but which has by no means been universally attended to. The subject takes in three hundred years of the history of the world, years more full, perhaps, of every good and evil working of humanity, than any which

preceded them; years in which every portent of misbelief, every monstrous combination in politics, every treason, every intrigue, every form of human misery, and every effort of superhuman charity, every perversion, and every reform have met and struggled, and connected themselves in one way or other with the name of Jesuit. Setting out with the proposition that in the economy of the Christian Church agencies are kept in reserve, which come into development when the occasion for their intervention arises, the author undertakes to show that the Society of Jesus grew naturally, and even necessarily, out of the state of things existing at the time of its appearance, and that the ministry of the same society is hardly less a necessity of the times we live in. The Church being in its constitution an external and highly-disciplined body, having a great diversity of gifts and powers, is allowed considerable latitude in their exercise. Her discretion is the less fettered that she can always rely on inspiration, and instead of being met, like the Jews, at every step, by some prescription of the law, she is allowed to fill in the details, and organise her service on the footing she sees best. It cannot be matter of doubt that a pastoral system large enough for the catacombs, would be found inadequate to the freer development of the Church. The administrative and judicial functions that entered into the government of the few and the primitive, should necessarily be adjusted to the wants of the many and degenerate, and the measures that served when all was peace within and hostility without, could hardly be made to apply, when the position was reversed; nor on the other hand can any one pretend that the same remedy may be resorted to against dangers and difficulties, wholly different in kind. Accordingly, as the Church extended her frontiers, there was a more ample communication of powers, and for convenience of government, different territorial circumscriptions, and different hierarchic relations were established. Hence the growth of archbishoprics, by the detachment of spiritual colonies from the principal centres of population, and hence the aggregation of provinces into patriarchates in subordination to the Roman primacy. The duties of the primitive Government were simple in the extreme; but when the relations between Church and Cæsar were altered from hostility into friendship and communion, new duties sprung from new circumstances; and now that doctrinal error, and deterioration of morals, always

to some extent the growth of peace, began to call for interference, new means of defence, security, and punishment, were of necessity adopted. The duties of the Church were sometimes restricted to condemnation or reproof, but they more commonly included action and correction, for which particular service the constitution of the monastic orders qualified them in a more especial degree. This will be apparent from the consideration, that as unity is of the essence of the Church, she necessarily favours the principle of association, and operates by combined and regular, preferably to isolated and intermitting action. It was in virtue of this instinct that the solitaries in the desert gradually drew together for interchange of spiritual advantages, and exhibit to us the rudiments of conventual life, which, as they came to be developed, converted each order into an epitome of the Church itself, and further, into a body peculiarly serviceable in emergencies, by the compactness of its organization, and its unenforced obedience. Hence, when error was to be refuted by doctrine, or immorality to be rebuked by example, a monastic order was sure to be impressed, or to start into existence. In this way the institution of canons regular by St. Augustin, which led to the establishment of capitular bodies generally, had a twofold object, the revival of discipline among the secular clergy, and the organization of a force against the Manichæans. The order of St. Dominic in like manner was established as well to purify and invigorate the ministry of preaching, as to take the field against the Albigenses, and in our own times the various orders of missionary priests have each been called into existence by some want or disorder of humanity. To similar causes did the Society of Jesus owe its origin; and as the Protestant movement was a revival of all former heresies, as in the sixteenth century all flesh had corrupted its way, as disorder was within the sanctuary and without, so was the Society of Jesus fitted by the emergency out of which it sprung for the discharge of all the functions of all other orders—for internal reform, for external conflict, for justice, for judgment, and for mercy.

Such are the leading features of what may be called the author's theory, in support of which he offers the historical or principal portion of the work. The action of the Society during the government of each General is considered first in regard to its European operation, and more especially

its bearing upon Protestantism ; secondly, as to its working in the foreign missions ; and thirdly, as to its constitution and government under the decrees of the general congregations, the provisions of papal ordinances, and the encyclical letters of the Generals themselves ; a distribution which has the essential merit of being exhaustive. And truly, it is a grave undertaking to embrace within the moderate compass allowed himself by the author the entire career of the Society, its object, and its laws : to account satisfactorily for successes and disasters, inexplicable to the majority of writers, and indeed to the majority of men ; to penetrate the secret of an influence that single-handed rolled back the tide of innovation from three-fourths of Europe, that sank or was supposed to sink with a rapidity almost equal to that of its advance, and having been preserved through a kind of miracle by its natural enemies was revived to meet the shock of new passions, and shape itself new destinies in a generation different from any the world had ever seen. Many have attempted the problem, and if we are to judge from the number and variety of the solutions offered, the question has made but little progress. Some would maintain that the order had fallen away from its original spirit ; that the same high standard of enthusiasm had not been preserved ; that the languor following upon success, and the fatal protection of the world had altered its character, and falsified its position. Some will have it that the enterprises of the Society were too vast and too dissimilar for one body to accomplish, and many, of course, have said that their doctrines were as perverse as their practice was immoral, and that both wrought their own downfall. To us, indeed, there can be no doubt that the hostility encountered by the Society attaches of necessity to its object, its constitutions, and its mode of operation. The prejudices it shocks are so angry, the interests it wounds so vital, its hostility is so uncompromising, and its means of offence so various, that there can be no truce, no terms between itself and the principle it attacks. M. Eugene Veuillot, whose knowledge of an author's susceptibility few readers of the *Univers* will be inclined to discredit, seeing how thoroughly he probes it every day, makes the writers of the Society responsible for a very large share, at least, of the hostility to which it is exposed :

"In the course of three centuries," says M. Veuillot, "we meet with more than ten thousand writers who have published in every

European language an immense number of works upon most branches of human knowledge. It is quite too evident that so many Jesuits never could have written upon philosophy, literature, and science, without wounding to the quick what is vainest upon earth, and most easily stung to fury and ferocity, the 'beaux esprits' in every department. Had the Jesuits themselves been perfectly free from the faults of the literary tribe, the bare fact of their having written so much could not have failed to envenom implacable jealousies and provoke undying hatred. If you wish to know in what heart animosity finds the securest refuge, and builds itself up an impregnable fortress, it is in that of a well-refuted author. The man who can forgive criticism, above all when it tells truth, is a hero of the most unusual description, whose virtue God has been pleased to strengthen, no doubt in recompense of his good faith; for as to those who err knowingly, they never forgive. The Society of Jesus having, in the course of three hundred years, produced more than ten thousand writers, the marvel is not that it is detested, but that it is alive."

This, however, though quite true, is far from supplying an adequate reason for the enmity that tracks the Jesuit so indefatigably in every period of his history. That he writes is simply an accident of his position, and any other duty will find him equally zealous and alert. The organization of the Jesuit body is strictly military, and the policy of its government (a tradition never swerved from) is that of unremitting action. Its object is the exaltation of the Church, and no service, however desperate, is declined, or any function, however mean, contemned, that may contribute even remotely to this end. The object was and is of itself sufficient to attract the hostility not only of the avowed enemies of the Church or of religion generally, but even of well-meaning people, whose perceptions of what is great in design or generous in sacrifice, have been deadened by the nature of their pursuits or other influences to which they were subjected. Next in order is the character of the Society itself and its mode of operation—accounting in great measure for the sagacious and perfectly consistent tenacity with which the enemies of the Jesuits pursued their destruction and pursue it still. The impossibility of corrupting or intimidating the Jesuits, their fine discipline that served them equally in sap or storm, the suddenness and completeness of their victories, their skill to improve every advantage and fortify every inch of ground behind them, all contributed to confirm their opponents in the belief that antagonists of that description were not to be

defeated by halves. The reaction which the Jesuits led and inspired was directed not merely against technical or confessional Protestantism, as opposed to the creed of Pope Pius IV. Protestantism in the abstract, and as it was understood by Edmund Burke, is not so much a religion or a cluster of religions as the genius of disorder to which the Jesuits, the most strongly marked living type of authority, were, by the mere and sheer force of things, in opposition. It was this involved the Jesuits in that succession of conflicts, or rather the perpetual conflict, which now seems to be almost the condition of their existence.

It will have to be borne in mind also that in the course of their struggle with Protestantism, they, like all revivers of discipline, were obliged to employ sharp and painful remedies at home. They had to organize a broken, and what the French would call demoralised force, fighting furiously, but not wisely, thinned by desertion and exhausted by toil. Within the Church there was all the dismay, outcry, and hurry of a night surprise, and it devolved upon the Jesuits to reduce the confusion to order, to reprehend in and out of season, to chide the backward, to inspire the timid, to rally the dispersed, to reassure the despondent, to restrain the irregular activity of some, and stimulate the all but incurable indolence of others, and to do this in spite of obstruction where they should have found support, amid the stunning tumult of powerful and clashing interests, under vehement protest from dispossessed abuses, with mutterings of mutiny and threats of vengeance assailing them, the latter certainly not uttered at random. The Jesuits could never succeed as they did, with paying at one time or another, the penalty which all success must pay to envy or ingratitude. To a certain extent their success continues still in the permanency of its results, but it was in the achievement of that success the marvel lay. The Society seems never to have known the weakness of youth or the decrepitude of age—she sprung a stately virgin, ready armed, from the travailing forehead of the Church, and took her place at once as the admitted patroness of wisdom, science, and war. She fell, if, indeed, she could be said to fall, without sickness or decay, and rose like a giant refreshed with sleep. There is no one portion of the Jesuit annals less full of character, less crowded with events, less involved in its relations with



cotemporary history than any other. The difficulty of accounting for all you read meets you at the first step, and continues throughout. The Jesuits may shift their position or unmask new batteries, but whether as assailants or assailed, they are always on the ground with varying success but unabated vigour and on a scale of equal magnitude from first to last. You scarce begin to know who the Jesuits are when you find them everywhere; in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Levant, India, Japan, America, Abyssinia. They get short shrift from Calvinist pirates on the high seas, they are strangled in scores by the judicial thuggee of the period in England pleasantly called justice; in Japan they are suspended over deadly exhalations from the earth, and in the plague-stricken towns of Europe they drink infection from the tainted whisper of the dying sinner. You meet them on the fields of Dreux, Jarnac, Moncontour, and Muhlberg, in the fleet at Lepanto, in the tents of Wallenstein, Batthori, and Sobieski, theologians of the Pope at Trent, his legates in Stockholm and Moscow, facilitating the return of Henry IV. to the Church, and profiting by his protection to strike root in France. The world is already full of their controversies personal and religious. They are the honoured correspondents and intimate advisers of kings and prelates; they have to protect the Church against innovation from without, and their own constitutions from innovation at home. Amid the distractions of so many events and pursuits, they have to preserve that oneness of character, that simplicity of obedience, that directness of purpose and uniformity of action belonging more exclusively to themselves and to our minds the great secret of their success.

M. Guizot indeed disposes of the question in a remarkably dashing way, and with a most enviable jauntiness of carriage, that no one but a professor of history under a liberal system can hope to obtain. He does not attempt any delicate dressing of facts, any innocent mistakes of figures, any rhetorical sleight-of-hand. He brings his paradoxes to the charge at a dashing gallop, clears the entrenchments at a bound, overleaps all petty obstacles of time and place, and makes a demonstration on every point at once with bewildering effect. He denies that the Jesuits have ever had a success worth mentioning, that they have left any standing memorial of their name beyond what he calls an idea, whereas their adversaries have

triumphed, brilliantly, invariably, and decisively. The passage is a curious one, and certainly valuable as an instance how far the love of stringing clever, even if not wholly intelligible phrases, will carry away a man of undoubted abilities, great reading and not remarkable unfairness. It is true, no doubt, that in speaking of the Jesuits as the chief antagonists of Protestantism, he does not himself take ground as a Protestant, in the narrow sense of the word, but rather in that which the Jesuits and most deep thinkers concur with Edmund Burke in attaching to it. Viewed in this light the assertion that the Jesuits have been absolutely and finally defeated, does not come so strangely from one, living under the empire of triumphant revolution, or Protestantism in its highest development, and believing in its perpetuity; but still it is a strange oversight to take no account of the defeats which Protestantism in the more common acceptation, had to sustain at the hands of the Jesuits; and even with regard to the entire comprehension of the term, or believe M. Guizot would pitch his flourish of triumph a key or two lower were the history of Civilization to be written in 1854. It is from that work we quote.

“No one is unaware that the principal force organized to defeat the Reformation was the order of the Jesuits. Cast a glance over their history. They have failed universally. Wherever they attempted to operate at all extensively, they drew disaster on the cause they espoused. In England they were the ruin of kings—in Spain of nations. The general current of events, the development of modern civilization, liberty of action for the human mind, all the influences they were established to counteract, have made head against, and vanquished them. And not only have the Jesuits failed, but call to mind, I pray you, the means they were constrained to employ. There is no lustre, no grandeur in their operations; they have brought about no striking events, they have not set in motion great masses of men. They have always travelled to their ends by obscure, underground, and indirect paths, having nothing in them to kindle the imagination or conciliate that public interest which attaches to great things, whatever be their principle, or whatever their object. On the other hand the principle they had to struggle with, has not triumphed merely, it has triumphed brilliantly. It has effected great things by great means,—it has called whole nations into action,—it has made Europe fertile in great men; it has changed the destiny and the form of states in the face of day,—in a word, everything has been against the Jesuits; facts as well as appearances. Neither com-

mon sense, which looks for success, nor the imagination, that must be gratified with show, finds anything to rest on in their history. And yet nothing is more positive than that they have a greatness of their own, and that a great idea attaches to their name, their influence, their history. The fact is, they understood their object and their wishes; they had a full and distinct comprehension of the principles on which they acted, and the end to which they tended. Theirs was the greatness of design, and the greatness of will, sufficient to save them from the ridicule which follows obstinate reverses and miserable means."—*Histoire Générale de la Civilization in Europe*, p. 363.

Before noticing M. Guizot's opinion on our own behalf, it might be worth while to draw together a few passages serving to show how differently some eminent men, not over friendly to the Jesuits, have been impressed by their career. They do not, it is true, profess to speak of the Jesuits in their relation to Protestantism; and the successes ascribed to the order are supposed to have no direct bearing on the Protestant movement; but they are in sufficient contrast with an opinion which allows the Jesuits no success whatever, or only the equivocal greatness of framing impossible projects, one of which was nothing less than to arrest the progress of modern civilization, and we suppose, in due course, inaugurate a state of nature. To begin with Buffon. He speaks to at least one success of the Society.

"The Jesuits have formed more men in barbarous nations than the victorious armies of the princes who overran them have been able to destroy. Meekness, charity, good example, and the constant practice of virtue, as seen amongst the Jesuits, succeeded in touching the savage heart, and subduing its ferocity. The savages came to be witnesses of the law which rendered men so perfect; they gave it their allegiance and society was constituted. Nothing reflects greater honour upon religion than to have civilized these nations, and laid the foundations of an empire with no other arms than those of virtue."—*Hist. Naturelle*, T. xx. p. 282.

Voltaire is even more energetic in the expression of his admiration.

"The establishments of the Spanish Jesuits alone in Paraguay appear in some respects the triumph of humanity."—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, p. 65. Ed. de Genève.

Engelbert Kœmpfer in reference to the means employed by the Jesuits for the conversion of the Japanese, repre-

sents them as of a higher order than M. Guizot would be disposed to admit.

"The Fathers of the Society of Jesus gained the hearts of the people by the sweet and consoling doctrines of the Gospel, absolutely unknown at the time to the Japanese. The Fathers won credit by their exemplary modesty, their virtuous lives, the disinterested assistance they rendered to the poor and sick, and by the pomp and majesty of divine service."

Jean de Müller describes the Society as

"An institution, the results of which may be compared to those produced by the most important institutions and legislators of antiquity."

Bacon's dictum is well known.

"Ad pedagogicum quod attinet, brevissimum foret; dictu consule scholas Jesuitarum, nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius."  
—De Dignit. et Aug. Scientiar. Lib. vii. p. 153.

D'Alembert, a witness above suspicion, says roundly,

"We must admit that no religious society without exception can boast an equal number of celebrated men in literature and science. The Jesuits have tried every department and succeeded. Eloquence, history, antiquities, geometry, light and serious literature. There is hardly known a class of writers in which the Jesuits do not reckon men of the first order."—*Destruction des Jésuites*.

Lalande, a fellow labourer of D'Alembert, and consequently as little likely to say anything he could avoid in favour of Christianity or its defenders, is eloquent in praise of the Jesuits.

"I have watched them closely, and they are a people of heroes.  
\* \* \* \* \* The name of Jesuit appeals to my heart, to my understanding, and my gratitude. Carvalho and Choiseul have destroyed irreparably the fairest work of man, which no sublunary institution ever can approach, the eternal object of my admiration and my gratitude. The human species has lost for ever that precious, that marvellous association of twenty thousand men, engaged without intermission, as without self-interest, in education, missionary labour, reconciliation, and works of mercy to the dying, that is to say, in all the functions dearest and most useful to humanity."—*Annales Philosophiques*, T. i. p. 180.

We might accumulate quotations from Bossuet, Leib-

nitz, Des Cartes, Bacon, Robertson, and others, but we have rather affected different and less friendly sources of opinion. Before returning to M. Guizot, there is one passage from De Pradt we should scruple to omit, as well on account of the author as of the matter.

"What an institution ! Was there ever one stronger amongst men ? What are the humble virtues of other cenobites, compared to the virility of genius amongst these ? And as a necessary consequence, how has Jesuitism lived—how has it fallen ? Why, after the manner of the Titans under the united thunders of all our earthly Jupiters. Did the aspect of death appal its courage ? has it been driven to recoil a single step ? 'Let them be as they are, or be not at all.' This is what I call to die erect, and with the bearing of an emperor. By this immense courage we may form an idea how the body must have lived that could die so proudly."—*Du J s uitisme Ancien et Moderne, par l'Abb  de Pradt, ancien Arch v que de Malines.*

These extracts, and they might have been more numerous, will suffice to show that M. Guizot's ideas on the subject have at least the one merit of being exclusively his own ; but had an opinion never been broached upon the matter by Christian or infidel, it is inconceivable how all the facts and all the arguments naturally flowing from them could have been lost upon a man so acute and far-seeing as M. Guizot. It might not perhaps be easy to determine what M. Guizot understands by success or failure ; but without putting any strained interpretation on the words, the Jesuits were admittedly successful in arresting the advance of Protestantism throughout Europe, to this extent, if no further, that from the moment the Jesuits appeared, the moral triumphs of Protestantism were at an end. Venice, Padua, Rome herself, the University of Paris, the south of France, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Silesia, Rhenish Prussia, Austria Proper, Savoy, and Switzerland, were every one of them inoculated with Protestantism, some more or less, some dangerously, some hopelessly. At the present day most of these countries and places are exclusively, and all, with the exception of Switzerland, substantially Catholic. To have circumscribed the Conquests of the Principle they were intended to oppose, would have been in itself no inconsiderable triumph ; but to withdraw whole provinces from its actual, and entire kingdoms from its inchoate dominion, was a

greater triumph still. It was considered a piece of wonderful strategy, and a daring effort of genius in Julius Cæsar to circumvallate the enemy's camp upon Dyrrachium, to run a wall from mountain to mountain, and from sea to sea, blockading and famishing a force so far superior to his own. But Cæsar's blockade was not effectual, like that of the Jesuits, who had nevertheless to keep in, not men, but ideas; and though Pompey forced the lines of his rival, the blockade of Protestantism has been maintained to the present hour. This, of course, is intended only of Protestantism popularly so called, for unfortunately Protestantism in the larger acceptation, has been more successful. That modern civilization of which clubs, provisional governments, constituent assemblies, revolutionary tribunals, and improvised constitutions, are the political basis, has broken the boom. It has built thrones upon barricades, it has educated generations by the feuilleton, it has sacked palaces, royal and episcopal, it has not always spared the "*Hôtel des affaires étrangères*," as M. Guizot has had reason to remember; but above all, it has dealt hardly with the Jesuits,—and yet it has not triumphed. What has become of the hoary anarchy that built his hopes upon the barricades, corruption, and M. Guizot, and where are the Jesuits that M. Guizot extinguished? Has the current of events they could not arrest so completely carried them out of sight as we might be led to suppose? It would appear not. The Chambers are gone, the d'Orleans are gone, M. Guizot and M. Thiers are gone, the horrid jargon of the tribune is silenced, we hope effectually and for good, and the Jesuits have entire liberty of action and organization. We have an accurate account of the position and progress of the French Jesuits in an interesting State paper furnished to the Emperor during the course of the present year by the minister of public instruction. It appears by the report that the Jesuits have eleven houses, with 2818 scholars, of whom 1711 are boarders. The Maristes, who come nearest to the Jesuits in point of numbers, have thirteen houses, but reckon only 1449 scholars, including 763 boarders, and the other educational communities have a much smaller number of establishments, and of course far fewer, though increasing, scholars. There are some paragraphs in the document so significant, that we do not venture to abridge them. They do not apply to the Jesuits exclusively; but



as writers and thinkers of M. Guizot's school are accustomed to discern the impulse of Jesuitism in every forward movement of the Church, we are willing to leave their impressions undisturbed for the present, as the Jesuits have undeniably their share in the extension of clerical influence at present taking place in France.

"To recapitulate :—The 256 ecclesiastical schools of all kinds contain 21,195 scholars, including 3,724 boarders, and they have unquestionably made rapid progress within the last four years.

"The same is not quite true of the independent lay establishments, as may be readily inferred from the following statistics.

"The sum total of scholars in houses independent of the State, amounts to 63,657, who are distributed after the following manner. In 256 clerical establishments, exclusive of the '*petits séminaires*,' the number of scholars reaches 21,195, and in 825 lay establishments the numbers are 42,462. So that, although the lay establishments are four times more numerous than the clerical, they only educate twice the number of scholars. I may add, that the 40,462 pupils under lay instruction by no means invariably follow the course of secondary studies. The greater proportion of these schools I find to be merely primary or professional. In general, no adequate provision has been made for classical studies ; a circumstance attributable to their isolation and poverty of resources. With the exception of some important establishments in large towns, in Paris especially, and which, to keep up their credit, make their most distinguished pupils follow the course of some *Lycée*, the other lay schools fall away, pass frequently from hand to hand, and are only able to exist by lowering their scale of charges, and perhaps reducing the standard of their studies.

"With the exception of the '*petits séminaires*,' the bishops had a very limited number of educational establishments, and they have now 67, containing 8,051 scholars, including 5,051 pensioners. Some of these schools have been established under the provisions of the Law of the 15 March, 1850, art. 69, with the cooperation of the Communes, who, after having been duly authorized, and with a view to relieve themselves from sacrifices often unavailing, have changed their Communal college into an independent school, under the exalted patronage of the diocesan authority. Establishments of this class have been installed, either in the diocesan buildings or in others specially set apart for the use. The episcopacy has therefore resolutely availed itself of the facilities created by the law of the 15 March, 1850. The establishments founded by it in such numbers are subject to the common law, and are generally in a flourishing position. Placed under the direct authority and responsibility of the bishops, they offer to the government and to society the most substantial guarantees."

This brings us naturally to the means employed by the Society in effectuating its ends, the breadth and grandeur of which latter M. Guizot does not affect to deny. Supposing for a moment those means to have been as paltry and indirect, and every way despicable, as he considers them, the circumstance would only go to enhance the merit of any success that could be achieved by so unlikely an instrumentality. No doubt a pebble from the brook in a shepherd's sling is a very primitive weapon, and Goliath did not hesitate to pronounce it decidedly ungentlemanly. The jaw-bone of an ass was a weapon less dignified still, and the lamps and pitchers of Gideon are to our modern notions a shallow stratagem indeed, yet they all told in the hands of those who used them, and that is the measure of their value. Take, however, that principal engine of Jesuit warfare, public education, and certainly any one who wields it, and wields it with effect, may well say,

—— et nos telum non debile dextra  
Spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.

All revolutionary governments and M. Guizot's amongst the foremost have recognized the power of education as the sole means of giving stability or securing a future to their principles and institutions. Parliamentary Government in France up to 1848 was a prolonged struggle against freedom of education, and if education were in reality so contemptible an agency it is not to be supposed that all these governments would have done involuntary homage to the discernment of the Jesuits simply to contest a worthless point. One of the most odious and subversive pretensions of modern democracy is to institute a system of compulsory education administered by the State. Surely it is not from a depreciatory idea of the power of education that such a proposal can originate, and this one at least of the means adopted (whether successfully or not) by the Jesuits for the furtherance of their objects, good or bad, is not to be classed amongst the obscure, underground and second-hand shifts to which the Jesuits have been obliged to resort. "Your Majesty," writes Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, to Philip II., "desired that I should have a citadel built in Maestricht. A Jesuit College it seemed to me would prove a fortress of greater strength, and I have built one."\* We never

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\* Hist. de la Soc. Jes. par Crétineau Joly. T. ii. 167.

proposed to take up these curious paradoxes seriatim, but there are some of them so startling as at least to make one pause upon them. What, for instance, can M. Guizot mean by imputing it to the Jesuits as something disparaging, not to have put in action great masses of men? It certainly is not by the quantity of the operating force, or the multitude of instruments employed that the value of any enterprise is to be estimated, but by the results attained; otherwise Xerxes and Tae-Ping-Wae are to be considered far greater personages than Alexander or Leonidas, and the mob that broke the mirrors and riddled the pictures in the Tuileries a more splendid historical picture than the three hundred that defended the pass of Thermopylæ. After all, history is not wanting in proofs that God is by no means invariably "du côté des gros bataillons," and that great changes are wrought, and mighty events brought to pass by means apparently inadequate and forces utterly disproportionate. Indeed it is something curious for a philosophical historian to speak of the Jesuits as not producing great events when it always belongs to the events to produce the men. Napoleon did not make the French Revolution, or Cæsar subvert Roman liberty. They, like the Jesuits, grew out of their own times and fulfilled their allotted destinies. Every age has its man, every emergency its resource, every society its institutions, every bane its antidote. The force of things drove the Reformers and Jesuits almost simultaneously to the surface in the fifteenth century. The only difference was, that the former became the sport of the revolution, whereas the latter resisted and controlled it. What the Jesuits effected we know, and their means were to the full as public as their success. They brought to their task the perfection of discipline, the clearest intelligence, the most highly-wrought enthusiasm, and the coolest forethought. The pulpit, the school, the consciences of Kings and Popes, the infinite resources of a literature so various and so excellent as to force tribute from the most malevolent, their own labours, their blood, their marrow, their lives, the whole intensity of their affections, the undivided energy of their wills, the most wonderful accumulation and concentration of mind the world ever saw; these were the means the Jesuits were driven to employ,—pitiful perhaps, but, we doubt, has human nature, any more effectual.

And last of all, there is a deep saying of M. Guizot's countryman, Montaigne, applicable to the Jesuits, more visibly and more constantly than to perhaps any other society of men in history. "*Il y a des defaites,*" he says, "*triomphantes à l'envie des victoires,*" and there is scarce one disaster or discomfiture of the Jesuits which has not demonstrated the grandeur of their designs, the correctness of their views, and the perfection of their plans. With few exceptions their failures have originated in causes external to the Society, and may be referred either to the manifestly overruling hand of Providence, to a disloyal enmity recognising no faith or principle, or to the unintelligent zeal of those who should have been friendly, but were scandalised at whatever passed their comprehension or their strength. The defeat of the Society in Japan was properly a triumph because it served to exhibit the character of Protestantism in a point of view that the most eloquent invective could never have painted. It shows us an evangelical nation fomenting and sustaining in a Pagan country the most ferocious persecutions to which a Christian community had ever been subjected since the days of Diocletian, trampling on the cross according to the established form of apostacy to secure a commercial privilege, and finally pointing its own guns against Christian cities, and exterminating Christian populations. In league with the Dutch, it shews a Japanese Pompadour whom the Jesuits had exasperated by the sternness of their morality, and it has adorned the Society and Christian name with a new array of martyrs, yielding in nothing to those whose relics yet linger in the catacombs or sleep beneath the million altar stones of the Church.

"The most extensive persecution that history records," says Kœmpfer, "seemed at first to produce no such effects as the government expected, for although according to the letters of the Jesuits 20,050 Christians suffered for their religion in the year 1590 alone, yet during the next few years when all the Churches were closed they made not less than 12,000 proselytes." The defeat of the Jesuits in America was a triumph for them personally, inasmuch as it showed that they alone could maintain the beautiful civilization they had created; and even their defeat in China was of the same kind, for they were not themselves the authors of it, and the catastrophe brought about by

the unfortunate question of the Chinese names and ceremonies, was drawn upon the Christians by a foreign interference, bigoted and ignorant at best, perhaps not perfectly upright in intention, which reduced the Pope to choose between the sacrifice of the Chinese Mission, and the propagation of a scandal that would have proved a ready and effective weapon in the hands of the malignant.

We shall notice one other theory of a Protestant writer, Professor Stahl of Berlin, put forward in a reflective and dispassionate spirit, and with no deeper tinge of prejudice than is almost inevitable in a person of his position, who sets out with *his* principles, and studies the question in a point of view almost exclusively Protestant. He considers the Society of Jesus as a highly concentrated exhibition of Catholicism, and nothing more. He can discern nothing vicious or immoral in its constitutions, nothing depraved in its practice; but he ascribes its imputed faults, errors, and failures, to the one fact of its being, like the Catholic Church herself, an outward and visible body, relying for success, as he will have it, upon the activity and merit of human works; whereas Protestantism, or the antagonist principle, looks to faith alone, and the merits of the Saviour, for its life and development.

"What an object of horror have not the Jesuits been to men of the most different character, and parties most adverse to each other—to rationalists, atheists, revolutionists—to the severely religious Jansenist—to the evangelical Christian, and often to the Catholic Clergy itself. On the other hand, how often have they been glorified at different times, including the present, by the most estimable Catholics as the very flower of the Church, the salt of the earth, the salvation of the times we live in! Even the English historian, Macaulay, is brought to a stand before this Order, as if it were a kind of enigma, an inexplicable compound of the sublimest virtues and the most utter reprobation. What is, therefore, the essence of Jesuitism? Where can the focus of its existence be, that it should make such opposite impressions, perhaps we ought to say possesses such contradictory qualities? Whence does it derive this mighty strength for good or evil? Perhaps the evangelical point of view will put us in a position to answer this question.

"The essence of Jesuitism, the very innermost focus of its existence, is the Reaction of the spirit of Catholicity against Protestantism. The Church of the Middle Ages, in her child-like unconstraint and imperfect development, maintained in peace two structures, one built upon human strength, the other upon divine grace

—the immediate mystical union with Christ, and an intermediate union through the hierarchy. Then came the Reformation, and disclosed in full brightness, and with sharply-defined outlines, the structure erected on the merits of Christ, the immediate union with the same, apart from the hierarchy, and exalted over it. This led to the eventual rejection of the hierarchy; and, in opposition to this movement, arose the spirit of adherence to the mediæval tradition represented by Loyola and his companions.

The essence of Jesuitism, that is to say, the sufficiency of man for his own justification and sanctification, and the drawing mankind into union with the Church and the Pope, is directly antagonistic to Protestantism. In those precise particulars which the Reformation assailed does Jesuitism outstrip all that had previously existed in Catholicity. To compass its own Christian perfection, and advance the kingdom of God by human strength and preparation—to establish and maintain the outward power of the Church as highest and supreme upon earth—such is the soul of Jesuitism.

This consecration of all human energy and industry to our own sanctification, and to the objects of the Church, this bond of companionship, this devotedness to the supremacy of the mediæval Church, and therewith the perpetuation of the European tradition of the hierarchy—lastly, that positive Christian belief which undeniably animated the founder of the Society, and is an immense field of action for it, and then the substitution of the practical aim of popular education for the merely contemplative life, a species of Protestant reform in monasticism used as a weapon against Protestantism—all this united gives to the Order that vehemence and strength of action and sacrifice which have secured for it such important results. Hence it is not merely a power opposed to Protestantism and unbelief, but a resource against drowsiness in the Catholic Church herself; and those Catholics who, at the present time, are accustomed to glorify the excellence of their Church, declare, nevertheless, that against the decline of learning, or the inroads of a worldly spirit amongst the Clergy, there is now no other hope of safety than in the Order of the Jesuits.

“Loyola and his friends undertook to found an order for the sanctification of men by the operation of man, for the establishment of the kingdom of God by human strength; and at no distant period that very Order becomes the representative and pillar of doctrines, the unholiness of which might shock heathenism itself. What then? Have not Escobar, Sanchez, Suarez, Laymann, Reginald, Lessius, Fillucius, Caramuel, Bauny, and their companions, gone through the spiritual exercises for four entire weeks? Have they not spent one full week in meditating, with darkened window, on sin, and its threefold distribution? Have they not attained to contrition—to tears? and do they not, for all that, lay down a methodical intro-



duction to sin, such as the world has never seen? This corruption of morality is not of the essence of Jesuitism, but, if I may be allowed to use a weapon in great favour with the Catholics of the present day, a necessary consequence of it. When any man rejecting evangelical truth takes his stand upon the letter of prescriptions, he must necessarily come to casuistry in action, and to that exactitude and logical hair-splitting which leads to such distinctions.

\* \* \* I, by no means, wish to attribute this corrupt morality to the Jesuits as the essence of their system and its distinguishing character. It is not my desire to obscure the merit of individual members. I will not deny to them collectively the fear of God and love of the Redeemer; but the piety which God desires is, after all, that of the gospel, and not that of the Jesuits. Protestantism will take from man his naturally sinful heart, and replace it by a heart filled with divine grace. Jesuitism, not satisfied with so little, will take out the heart created by God, and substitute for it a heart regulated according to the views and rules of the Order."—*Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip N. Vortrag.* s. 94-113.

Amongst other proofs of Jesuit reliance upon outward force and the arm of flesh, he lays to their account every physical restraint applied, or attempted to be applied, to Protestantism. To quote a solitary instance, the thirty years' war was planned and conducted by their pupils, Ferdinand II., and Maximilian I. Undoubtedly it was; and Protestantism is far more indebted to Cardinal Richlieu, and the good sword of Gustavus Vasa, for its existence in Germany, perhaps in the world, than to the exaltation of faith above works, or reliance upon the omnipotence of grace. But it was strength wrestling with strength, and craft counterchecking craft. Had it not been for a Cardinal of the Roman Church, Protestantism would long since have bequeathed to history its tenets, and to the readers of history a lesson and a warning. Yet the Jesuits have been known to interpose in favour of the *French* Protestants at least;\* and assuredly Protestantism has relied almost as little upon purely spiritual weapons as Islamism itself. There never were men of more butcherly instincts than the first reformers with one or two exceptions;† and their instincts have been only too faithfully trans-

\* Hist. des Confesseurs des Empereurs et Rois. Par l'Abbé Grégoire ancien Evêque constitutionnel de Blois.

† Lettre de Calvin au Marquis de Port, Chambellan du Roi de Navarre, 30 Sep. 1561. Notice Historique sur la Ville et Canten de Valréas.

mitted. But it is principally the moral theology of the Jesuits that Dr. Stahl regards as the result of the imputed Catholic principle of justification pushed to its extreme; "Der Jesuitismus ist darum das Extrem des Katholicismus;" and we extracted the passage rather as a sample of Protestant theories on the subject of the Jesuits, than with any idea of examining it. Dr. Stahl himself rejects the so often exploded, and so often revived calumny of the "monita secreta;"\* he even goes the length of discharging the Society from absolute participation in every opinion sanctioned by the General. And, going so far, it might have been worth his while to ascertain whether all the speculative opinions ascribed to the Jesuit casuists were genuine, and whether, in the compilation of extracts from works of Jesuit theology, sent by the Parliament of Paris to the Bishops of France, there were not as many as *seven hundred and eighty* falsifications of all kinds.† We cannot conceive a more ungrateful task for Protestant or Catholic, than to open up the question of probableism and its concomitants. M. Buss goes into the enquiry at great length, and with very considerable ability; but after the most lavish expenditure of time and labour on one side or the other, you can only do what has been better done a hundred times already. The Jesuits can only slay the slain, and their antagonists revive them. The appeal to facts becomes inevitable, and the enquiry must be, not how the Jesuits have speculated, but what they have done.

We remember to have seen at a republican fête in Paris the names of Voltaire and Fénelon, Bossuet and d'Alembert, in juxtaposition upon the same scroll commemorative of the literary glories of France, and we know writers who, delighting in sudden contrasts and incongruous groups, love to institute comparisons between Ignatius and Luther. Leaving out of consideration the profanity of such a parallel, there seem to be few points of comparison between the men, beyond the fact of their belonging to the same period, and taking the leading part on opposite sides. The schism was not the work of Luther, but Ignatius was the leader of the reaction. Had the obscene savagery of Luther never defiled a page, other Luthers could not have been wanting, and the dark and scowling fanaticism of

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\* Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip s. 100.

† Die Gesellschaft Jesu, u. s. w. Von F. J. Buss, p. 164.

Calvin was in reserve for even sterner doings. The fifteenth century was in travail of revolution. The phantom of Italian unity had begun to haunt the Vatican itself, and the estrangement between Pope and Emperor grew daily more threatening. Spain, France, Italy, and England, had all been the theatre of devastating wars, the entire population of Europe was in ferment and disorganization ; in a word, the soil was fallow for every seed of discontent and error. At the same time a new civilization was gradually making way, and bringing with it the enervating as well as genial influences that follow in its train, and when suddenly determined to the surface by the diffusion of Greek literature after the fall of Constantinople, it came upon minds and manners in most cases ill prepared for its reception. In no country had the secular clergy those resources for study and discipline which are so universal now, and in many countries the salt had no savour whatsoever.

The Houses of France and Austria had already entered upon that mortal struggle which was to end in the exhaustion of both and the aggrandisement of England, when the inevitable convulsion was precipitated by the jealousy of an Augustine Monk. The character of Luther is not that of most heresiarchs. We do not find in him the man of deep design, patient industry, and inexhaustible shifts, steadily elaborating one plan, advancing or retreating, as the occasion requires, and taking no step not well and cautiously considered. His doctrines were no concerted scheme, but successive formations, crust overlaying crust, as explosion after explosion of his volcanic temper heaved up some new heresy. Everything favoured his outbreaks ; for we cannot speak of his enterprise. Able and daring, though mutinous lieutenants were soon at his side,—auxiliaries were drafted to him from a clergy whose sensuality he bribed with indulgence, and whose intellects were unformed by study, while many who stopped short of actual defection, being of a scarce higher standard than those who had gone over, were able to oppose no effectual resistance to his progress. Every coarse appetite and mean passion was a recruiting angel in the service, and impressed his contingent. Drawn by the glare of novelty, some brilliant students joined his standard, and raised its reputation by associating innovation in religion with the renovation of letters ; but more unfortunately still, some Catholics, not

more zealous than weak-minded, fell into the snare, and, confounding two things essentially different, attacked the Revival as well as the Reformation, and drew upon the Church the reproach of obscurantism, exasperating the new-born interest of the press to such a degree that it was all but impossible for a Catholic controversialist to find a publisher. If to all this we add the besotted policy of Francis and Charles, each playing off against the other or against Rome any element of disorder in his antagonist's empire, we can form some slight idea of the state of things to which a remedy had to be applied, the administration of which fell to the Jesuits.

Strange to say, Luther, Waldo, and Ignatius (we shall be pardoned for the approximation of the names) entered religion, or at least withdrew from the world under the influence of very much the same impressions; Waldo and Luther, panic-stricken by the sudden death of friends, and Ignatius under the pressure of personal disappointment. The former, hurried away by terror, brought with them to their retirement their passions, untried and unchastened, whereas Ignatius had proved, wrestled with, and overcome his own before attempting his enterprise. The organisation, too, of the man was different. Straightforward, downright, and practical as befits a soldier, he had a general's eye to combination and discipline as well in his faculties as in his men. Hence he did nothing without measure and deliberation, subduing every power and affection of his mind that could thwart his purpose, and bringing into play those only that could aid it. In fact, he so fully realized his own position as general, and that of his faculties as subordinates and inferiors, he had so fully acquired the habit of commanding, and they had so completely lost all power of resistance, that a mental revolution or even a loitering in design was rendered impossible. What the spiritual exercises had effected for him, they accomplished for his society, and so lasting, so indelible was the character they stamped upon it, that its spirit and its government are the same to-day without deterioration and without reform, as they were in the lifetime of the founder. It is, in truth, a solemn hour, and well calculated to give character to an entire existence, when the exercitant enters into that spiritual agony which lies upon the threshold of his new life,—when he takes his stand between the camp of the world and the camp of God, the one gay with idle banners and vocal with seduc-

tive music, the other stern and silent, or reverberating with one awful voice, not so much an invitation as a warning : "What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"—when in the chamber darkened to exclude the glare of the world and sober down the imagination to a gentle melancholy, he scans the affections of his heart, and pursues self-love through all its windings under an oppressive consciousness of scrutiny from an eye that follows every step of the pursuit,—when doubts revive, and resolution wavers, when the light from above waxes dim, and the voice from within gets faint,—when discouragement and prostration seem to make sacrifice impossible, and exertion almost fatal, leaving to the struggler the one only confidence of divine presence and sustainment. Perhaps, too, a feeling somewhat more human may contribute a little comfort and support ; the Grotto of Manresa and the conflict it shut in are present to his mind ; there is a communication of dignity as well as strength in the idea ; and everything concurring, his doubts begin to be dispelled, his courage gradually revives, and at length reaches the height of that final decision, the object of so unsparing a trial. In the interval he has become familiar with that internal discipline which is to qualify him first for submission to, and subsequently for the exercise of outward authority. He has been guided all through his search after the divine will by those who have trodden the same labyrinths themselves, and, according to his strength of mind and the degree of supernatural operation, he leaves the exercises, the mould of man, from which Jesuits are made. The slow gradation of rank, the moderately democratic character of the elective and legislative courts—the concentration of all power in the hands of one, and the precautions not only zealous, but effectual, which have been taken against its abuse, form a class of men equally capable of governing and being governed, not of raw theorists or hollow patriots, who convert liberty like toleration into what de Balzac has called them both "une sublime niaiserie."\* Thus qualified to act in concert or apart, thus proved and disciplined, with every spring-well of passion discovered and dried up or diverted into a new channel, with every possibility of change or doubt cut off, Ignatius and his companions broke bread in the subterra-

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\* *Révue Parisienne*, 25 Aout, 1840.

nean church of Montmartre. They were only six, and foremost a soldier of noble presence, halting, but stately in his gait, and with an eye, which though emitting no irregular flash of the Castilian pride, bespoke a will that could never halt in purpose, and a penetration that no disguise could elude. Behind that expansive brow were recesses for the cares of empires, and upon it were lines of thought inscribed by no earthly musings. The little band around him proved he had that sagacity in the selection of his instruments, which is the most elementary quality of greatness. The first but a few months ago was a young and brilliant professor, who, in almost tender years, had already his school and his disciples, and before whose kindling eye stood his own image in no distant future, dilating with no tardy growth to the stature of Thaulerus, Albertus Magnus, or Thomas of Aquinas. Intoxicated with the triumphs of scholastic philosophy, triumphs as hardly won and as dearly prized as any upon field or sea; not wounded in his pride or baulked in his career, but in the full flush of victory and noontide of his fame; Francis Xavier passed, under the influence of Ignatius, through the portals of the spiritual exercises to a destiny and a renown of which his new-born humility had no conception. The second is Laynez, destined to be the successor of Ignatius, wanting, perhaps, the creative and organizing faculties of his master, but equally fit for government or action, and qualified, of all men, to consolidate a power whose sudden growth might raise fears for its stability. He wears the placid smile that sat upon his features later, when he moved to acclamation the cold serenity of a general council, a smile not of contempt or derision or assurance, but the involuntary expression of reliance on his cause. And amongst the six are two whom their general, having, as he says, but six for the entire world, and with kings his petitioners for even one, will send to a remote and miserable country, far out of the throng and press of the conflict raging over Europe, and known even now for little else than its faith and its afflictions. One might feel inclined to suppose that he had foreseen the inconceivable growth and still more wonderful dispersion of the Irish race when he despatched Salmeron and Pasquier Brouet to Ireland, and felt how precious was the confirmation of the faith in a country destined to carry with it truth or error over half the world.



The first views of Ignatius and his companions take the direction of the East, but the East is closed to them, and they adjourn the prosecution of their design to the period when they shall all share the priestly character. The time at length arrives, and they solicit from the supreme authority that religious organization which is indispensable to concentrated action upon any point whatever. The chances are all adverse—the gradual extinction of monastic orders, the four principal ones excepted, has just been recommended, and although the Pope sees the finger of God in the proposed constitutions, a commission of Cardinals is less favourable, and their scruples have to be calmed before he can think it right to sanction the establishment of the Society of Jesus. That also is accomplished; the little company stands constituted under Ignatius its first General, after an election twice confirmed; and in the course of a few years you become as familiar with the name and labours of the Jesuits, and identify them as completely with the history of the Church, as if the origin of the Society, like that of the religious life itself, or the fountains of the Nile, was lost in the desert, and the broad flood had never ceased from immemorial years to roll its waters through Christendom. Within the memory of a stripling grown to manhood, it has left the University of Paris; become known in churches and in courts; revived the conservative instincts in princes who had begun to dally with revolution, and forced upon them counsels that secured the remnant of their power, as formerly it might have saved the whole; wrested from Protestantism the supremacy of the press, organized against it the declining generation by the pulpit and the rising by the school; showed itself upon every point of Europe at once, commanded every position of the field from Rome, and everywhere wrought changes which would surpass belief, were not their effects in evidence even now. The German, the English, the Scotch, the Irish, and the Roman colleges, are founded by Ignatius with as much simplicity and completeness as if he had a treasury at his disposal. Laynez, Salmeron, Lefevre, and Canisius, to name only these, are on your road everywhere, in Italy and Germany, at the diet of Worms and Ratisbonne, at the Council of Trent, in Cologne, Vienna, Switzerland, France, Poland. Not one name amongst the original six, or amongst the earlier companions of Ignatius,

that does not represent a history. The Council of Trent is part only of the history of Laynez, the preservation of all that was not gangrened in Germany, but part of the history of Canisius. What tender points of controversy does not Laynez determine in Trent,—how nice are not the boundary questions of jurisdiction he has to adjust,—sometimes carrying the assent of the Council by acclamation, and sometimes by slow and disputed advance, but always without pride or triumph, and in the spirit of that sublime answer which Lefevre gave to the solicitude of those who told him his life would be endangered by his presence in Trent, “it is not necessary to live, but it is necessary to obey.” Canisius, a Jesuit of the true heroic type, finds Cologne, Austria, Bavaria, and Poland, all but lost. In Vienna the ordination of priests had long since ceased, the churches were deserted or invaded by Protestants. The Archbishop of Cologne was known to be compromised with the reformers. The Polish diet already contained a large and active faction of Protestants; yet, in the course of a few years we see the churches filled with worshippers, the confessionals besieged with penitents, colleges thronged by students, an episcopacy courageous, vigilant, and energetic; a clergy spotless in morals, severe in life, zealous in duty; in fine, kings and electors weaned from their vicious policy, and taking resolutely, though late, the only path to preservation for themselves and their states.

We do not pretend to give a summary of Herr Buss's work, which in itself is only a summary, though very detailed and accurate, of Jesuit history. The subject is quite too vast to be compressed into a short, or even a far longer essay than our limits will allow. Besides which, the main incidents of Jesuit history, (all that we could afford to touch upon,) must be known to the generality of readers. Take any one branch of the subject; the controversial, the missionary, or the pastoral labours of the Jesuits, their purely literary or their purely scientific history, their educational or their governmental systems, their struggles with parliaments and universities, their suppression and revival, and you will have to unite the breadth of view which belongs to history, with the minuteness of detail demanded by biography. It was our principal desire to consider Herr Buss's history in connexion with the theory it professes to develop, and with

the other theories at which we have glanced from time to time; and we do not conceive that, to a calm examiner there can be much difficulty in accounting for the successes and disasters of the Jesuits from the very nature of their institute, and the task they had in hand; of the time they undertook it, and of the times through which they had to carry it. Let us just try to realize, to some extent, the position of the Society in any period of her history; and suppose we begin at the beginning. The wonderful daughter of Ignatius and the University of Paris, for the Society was nothing else, met with sufficiently harsh treatment from her mother from the first. This it is easy to account for: all monopolies are jealous alike, and the benches of the University were neglected for the schools of the Society;\* but there were other and more decided grounds of hostility on the part of an active and increasing body in the University,—the disaffected in religion. The same may be said of the parliaments, where the new doctrines flourished with tropical growth in the atmosphere of chicane and faction, which was to these celebrated bodies as the breath of their nostrils. It was in vain that the Jesuits and University were in the same camp during the wars of the league. No sooner was Henry IV. in Paris than the Sorbonne which had so solemnly excommunicated him, and decreed that no conversion, however sincere, could legitimate his pretensions, impeached the Jesuits of the same treason. Yet as the king said of them, “avec patience et bonne vie ils viennent à bout de toute chose,” and though one of their number was executed on a trumpety pretence of complicity in the attempt to assassinate that prince, he remembered well how much his reconciliation with Rome had been forwarded by the Jesuit Cardinal Tolet; and more than that, his active and organizing mind was completely in communion with the kindred spirit of the Society; the sincerity of whose hostility, when it was hostile, wore far more respectably in his eyes, and gave him better earnest of friendship than the sudden zeal and suspicious devotedness of University and Parliament. Still, though the king befriended the Society, and favoured its development as best he could, and although after a temporary check

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\* *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, par Du Boulay, t. vi. p. 916. Ed. de 1673.

in the next reign, Richelieu extended to it his oppressive patronage, and Louis XIV. a more generous protection; most of the passions that had assailed the Society in its infancy kept pace with its growth, and secreted fresh venom in silence, till Jansenism, the new nursling of the parliaments, came into action. Meanwhile the thirty years' war desolated Germany. Ferdinand, Maximillian, Wallenstein and the Jesuits, were the watchwords on one side, and shame to say, Richelieu, France, and Gustavus Adolphus on the other; and it is not to be supposed that when the thirty years' war was overblown, the protestants forgot the habit of hating the Jesuits, along with that of sacking their colleges. Nor was this yet enough: Popes had wished to alter the economy, to change the organization, to remodel the basis of the Society. Sixtus V., and Pius V., men of resolute will if ever such existed, commanded change,—they met with no resistance, but the change they effected never survived themselves. The Society went on and produced its doctors, confessors, and martyrs, side by side with its historians, poets, and philosophers, and not unfrequently gave in a single subject a representative to every branch of science and every degree of virtue. We might run out our pages into a dry catalogue of names, like those of Bellarmine, Petau, De la Rue, Vannæus, Kircher, Bourdaloue, Possevin, any one of which (we have taken them almost at random,) would suffice for the glory of another society; not, indeed, that we mean to say all the writers of the Society are in any way comparable to these referred to, but the number of those whose excellence deserves mention is such as we describe. In course of time the conscience of every Catholic prince in Europe was confided to a Jesuit, and one might be permitted to argue *à priori* that it was impossible the Jesuits could escape under the circumstances, an amount of odium almost sufficient of itself to crush them. In nearly every instance they stood exculpated by the facts, but the facts were not seen as we see them now, as even Protestants of common fairness see them, and there was hardly any crime or any mistake of the prince that was not charged upon his confessor.

The contest with Jansenism was not the least damaging to the society, not of course on the merits, but from the abilities and tactics of their opponents, who certainly wrote with a vigour and a skill sufficient to upset more constitu-

tional governments in France than there are barricades to build them on. No one now pretends that the "Provinciales" are anything but an audacious pasquinade [in the choicest prose, it will be admitted], but with nothing better to be urged on their behalf. Voltaire says of them: "In common honesty, is it by the satire of the Provinciales that we are to learn the morality of the Jesuits?"\* And in another place, "It was pretended in these letters that they [the Jesuits] had entertained the formal design of corrupting men's morals—a design never conceived by any sect or any society. It was no concern of Pascal's to be in the right, but simply to amuse the public."† It is not to be supposed De Maistre would be less explicit: he speaks of Pascal as "a clever controversialist to the degree of making calumny agreeable;"‡ and Chateaubriand says, "After all what is Pascal but a slanderer with genius? He has bequeathed us an immortal lie."§ Sch'll, Protestant as he is, confirms their testimony. "The letters," he says, "are a party production in which bad faith ascribes to the Jesuits questionable opinions they had long since condemned, and makes the whole society responsible for the extravagancies of some Spanish and Flemish Fathers."|| And the effect that all this has produced upon more than one reasoning mind, we shall give in the words of one who read Pascal before he studied the constitutions of the Society, and is now a Jesuit, but by no means in disguise—"Pascal, your genius, has been guilty of a great crime—it has established an alliance, indestructible perhaps, between falsehood and the language of the Franks—you have compiled the dictionary of calumny—it is an authority still—it shall not be so for me."¶

The orgies of the regency had fully succeeded in depraving the morals, and thence came by an easy transition, to destroy the faith of the French nobility. The prince who had listened in boyhood to the inspired teachings of the "Petit

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\* Lettre au Père de Latour, 1746.

† Siècle de Louis XIV. t. iii. c. xxxvii.

‡ Soirées de St. Petersburg, l. 16ième Entrétien.

§ Etudes Historiques.

|| Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens.

¶ De l'Existence et de l'Institut. des Jésuites par le R. P. de Ravignan, p. 54.

Carême," exhibited, when scarce arrived at manhood; those vices of character that entailed disgrace upon his name, and precipitated the ruin of his family. That family now reigned over France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Parma, but out of the licence and irreligion of the French court, grew what was called a philosophy, which, however it might work in amateur atheists, like Bolingbroke and Frederick of Prussia, could not fail to take a practical turn in time, as the Bourbon family was taught to feel, and feels even yet. The Prime Minister of Portugal who governed the reigning idiot, as well as the miserable country, caught the fashionable taint, and regarding the Jesuits as the natural enemies of his new friends the philosophers, resolved on their destruction. He began at home, as was natural, and by a dexterous twisting of events, by clever combinations of time and place, by calumnies skilful or dull indifferently, by most marvellous piecing of evidence, and, finally, by the exercise of irresponsible power, drove the Jesuits out of Portugal and her dominions, and landed them in ship loads upon the states of the Church. How he came to influence the mind of Charles III., and through him of the entire House of Bourbon, is not so clear. That prince himself never disclosed his real cause of offence against the Jesuits, and Ferdinand VII., in their rehabilitation, went no further than to say his ancestor had been deceived.\* The same process was repeated in Spain as in Portugal, with an exaggeration of atrocity; the same again in Naples and Parma; and lastly, in France; but there, happily for the honour of the French name, without the circumstances of gratuitous barbarity that characterized it elsewhere; after a prolonged struggle, and with at least a colourable sanction of public opinion. In France, under no matter what form of government, there is a certain force of public opinion, and unless in moments of revolutionary excitement, a degree of personal, if not political liberty, far beyond what exists in most other countries. Hence, even in the parliaments where opinion pronounced most strongly against the Jesuits, and where alone public opinion could be constitutionally collected, the voices condemnatory of the Jesuits were in a very small majority, while almost the entire episcopacy spoke loudly and fear-

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\* *Exposicion y dictamen del fiscal del consejo y camara. D. Francisco Gutterien.*



lessly in their favour. The Jesuits were not, strictly speaking, expelled from France, and they remained there without hindrance or molestation, as seculars; but, however the French people might feel, the ministers of the House of Bourbon had resolved upon the destruction of the Order. Nothing less than its absolute suppression by the Pope would content them,—to compass this end, every pressure short of actual constraint was applied to the Holy See,—and when at length the Pope yielded, it was when he could resist no longer.

There are few chapters of ecclesiastical history more full of painful interest than the election and pontificate of Clement XIV. We have no desire to enter upon the distressing controversies to which they have given rise, and it is greatly to be regretted they should have been revived in our own time. Dr. Theiner, in a spirit of reparation with which we have no reason to find fault, has undertaken to vindicate the character of Clement XIV., the difficulty of whose position it certainly is impossible to exaggerate. Dr. Theiner's peculiar opportunities give him access to documentary evidence of the most authentic kind, and no one can blame him for using them in what he conceives to be the interest of the truth. No one acquainted with the character and the writings of this distinguished ecclesiastic can hesitate to believe that such was his one object, and that nothing was farther from his mind than to disparage the Jesuits or damage their reputation in any way. His disclaimer of such purpose is sufficiently formal. "The man," he says, "would be much astray, and do us grievous wrong who should attribute to us the purpose of reflecting on the Jesuits in this work. Far from us—far as heaven from earth, be such an idea. Tender and sacred bonds knit us, and to our last breath shall continue to knit us, to that illustrious Society. On the contrary, we shall make it a conscientious duty not to cancel or misinterpret one of the so numerous pages of glory they have graven in the book of history. But we say with equal candour, that it is just as little our intention to suppress or artificially excuse and gloss over their weaknesses when we meet with such. This we owe alike to the Church and to truth. The Society of Jesus will derive from the work a lesson merely, and by laying the same to heart, profit likewise. The artificial and extravagant praises of shortsighted friends have hitherto done the Society little service, and done little

for the advancement of their cause.”\* Dr. Theiner has only given expression to opinions of our own in this passage. His work, however, has been used in a very different spirit by the enemies of the society. He has met with a commentator, Herr Leu of Lucerne, who, professing to give to the public the substance of Dr. Theiner's work in so far as it relates to the Jesuits, displays a small, spiteful, and illiberal jealousy of the Society wherever he introduces an observation of his own, that it is really pitiful to see. To affect to disguise the mistakes, the weaknesses, as Dr. Theiner calls them, or the faults, if you will, of the Society, or to evade the discussion of them, would be a very fatal course, and if we ourselves have made no allusion to the bankruptcy of Father La Valette, the presence of Father Peters in the Privy Council, the examination of Father Garnet, the education of Don Sebastian, and innumerable other heads of accusation; it was not that we thought the society or individual members wholly free from blame, or, on the other hand, that nothing was to be urged in their defence, but that these are for the most part questions, not of principle, but of fact, and that any one prosecuting an enquiry into these matters in good faith, will find valuable assistance from Herr Buss's work, where the arguments on both sides are fairly and lucidly stated, and facts elicited that will in many cases diminish the blame, in many cases wholly clear it away, and in by far the great majority, shift it from the responsibility of the society, to that of individual members, and confirm the wisdom of the rule by showing what was complained of to have been an infraction of it.

Having had regard to Herr Buss's theory rather than to the historical work, we were unwilling to make any lengthened extract from the latter. Indeed, our readers are probably too well acquainted with every remarkable incident in that history, to find anything new in the author's pages. Those, however, who may not have had an opportunity of coming at more authentic details of the fortunes of the society in Switzerland, just previous to the revolution of '48, than were to be met with in the public journals, will not take it amiss if we give them a specimen of Herr Buss's style.

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\* *Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. Vorrede,*

"In the sitting of the 24th of October, 1844, the Great Council decided on inviting the Jesuits to take charge of the seminary by a majority of seventy to twenty-four voices.

"The general of the Jesuits who had long been importuned by all parties, yielded at length to the wish of the Pope, and empowered the Father Provincial Rothenflue, to concert measures with the government of Lucerne for the superintendence of the episcopal seminary.

"The people voted by a majority of more than six thousand for the immediate carrying out of the resolution of the Great Council. The Radicals immediately protested against the violation of the federal compact, although Lucerne had done nothing more in 1844 than had been done by Valais in 1810, Freiburg in 1818, and Schwytz in 1836. Even in the diet the introduction of the Jesuits was regarded as a purely cantonal concern."

After the defeat of the free corps in Lucerne, the Jesuits took charge of the seminary, and opened their classes the 13th October, 1845, between which period and 1847, the agitation for their withdrawal had never ceased to convulse Switzerland.

"The Jesuits had been for two years in Lucerne, honoured by the people; their most determined antagonists had never been able to fix a reproach upon them.

"The source of Swiss grievances was certainly not the Jesuit college of Lucerne. The withdrawal of the Jesuits was now impossible, and were it even possible, it would still be useless, nay, shameful and dangerous, since it would upset all principles, render the radicals more daring, and dispirit and disunite the Catholics.

"In a word, the presence of the Jesuits in Lucerne involved sacred and fundamental principles, namely, cantonal independence and religious liberty; principles, which in their expulsion would be outraged and annulled. No single charge had been brought against the Jesuits as a pretext for their expulsion from Switzerland, so that the procedure was in every way iniquitous. Its results could be no other than the most flagrant infractions of the common law of nations, beginning with the arbitrary banishment of citizens from their country and the confiscation of their property. The grievances of the Catholic population were the heaviest that could be inflicted, their feelings wounded in everything they held dearest, the Church subjected to persecution, all religious and political rights trampled under foot, left no room for personal complaints or personal sufferings.

"Such was in substance the memorial of the General of the Jesuits to the representatives of the European powers in Switzerland—it spoke in language of the meekest reason, but the blindness of the European powers, and of Swiss Protestantism, was invinci-

ble. Lord Palmerston instructed his minister to show the Jesuits no quarter. European diplomacy felt amused at the pertinacity of the foreign office, but remained motionless, tied up by the precedents of 1830.

"In 1847 the Swiss Cantons numbered one hundred and fifty-two Jesuits, of whom one hundred and two belonged to the Cantons of the Sonderbund, and the remaining fifty to Berne, Solothurn, Argau, St. Gall, Grisons, Vaud, Geneva and Basle. These Swiss believed there was nothing in the fact of their being Jesuits to deprive them of their country; and, moreover, the religious involved a political question. The Jesuits had long declined going to Lucerne, but the government of that canton wrote to them, 'We cannot understand how the self-same men, who court martyrdom amongst barbarians, refuse to take the field in union with the people of Lucerne so gallantly in arms for the Church.' There was no alternative left them. They remained an unflinching advanced guard at the outpost of Lucerne.

"But now when civil war became more and more imminent, and even friends of order throughout Europe were disposed to tax the Jesuits with giving rise to it; the Father Provincial Minoux visited in turn the cantons of Lucerne, Schwytz, Freiburg, and Valais, conjuring the leaders of the Sonderbund to tell him whether the withdrawal of the Jesuits would avert the conflict, in which case he would solicit from the General the power of withdrawal, but the unanimous answer was,—*No*.

"And thus the Jesuits remained upon the field, bound by obedience to the Holy See, by their priestly duty, by the honour of their institute, and by their love of country.

"On the 18th of October, 1847, the Diet met again to consider the coercive measures to be adopted against the Sonderbund. St. Gall and the Grisons made an effort at conciliation. The twelve cantons determined to send federal commissioners with a proclamation into the cantons of the Sonderbund.

"The proclamation was a tissue of falsehood, and the commissioners mere agents of revolution. They were not received. On the 21st October, they brought forward a proposal which might have secured the object in view. The proposal was to acknowledge the cantonal sovereignty with all its legitimate consequences, whereupon the Sonderbund would dissolve.—Geneva, Glarus, St. Gall, Solothurn and Grisons, showed some disposition to take the proposal into consideration, but Berne, Valais, and Argovia peremptorily rejected it. The agents of Lucerne, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Freiburg, were, without instructions, to deal with the protocol. The radicals, not the people, wished for war. On the 24th October, the president of the Diet Ochsenbein, declared upon false information, that disorder was increasing from hour to hour in St. Gall, and that the Catholics there were in arms. Immediately, a decree was

passed, to place fifty thousand men at the disposal of General Dufour, for the preservation of peace.

"The representatives of the Sonderbund were not present at this sitting, but Neuenburg and Basle proposed a conference out of doors between the representatives of the Sonderbund and those of the other cantons. It took place on the 28th October. The deputies of the Sonderbund openly declared they should forthwith be considered non-existent when the cantonal sovereignty ceased to be called in question. The case of the convents of Argovia should be referred to the Holy See, and, pending the decision, both parties disarm.

"These propositions were assuredly such as the radicals themselves might have accepted; but absolute submission was demanded of the Sonderbund. The conference led to no result, and nothing remained for the representatives of the Catholic Cantons but to withdraw. They understood their duty and discharged it with a mournful solemnity. On the 29th of October they handed to the Diet a manifesto in which their rights were so forcibly and convincingly stated that the Diet thought it necessary to forbid its publication. It was sent to the representatives of the European Powers in Switzerland with a strongly-worded note, requiring no intervention but simple recognition.

"By a kind of fatality, Switzerland, and with her most of the European States were sinking into the precipice of revolution which the English Foreign Office had opened.

"The other governments witnessed the sacrifice with indifference. War began. Freiburg, cut off from the aid of the other Cantons of the Sonderbund, capitulated on the 14th of November, after General Maillardoz had resigned his command and the enemy had broken the armistice of the thirteenth. Although the fifth article of the capitulation guaranteed security of person and property, the insurgents of January were all brought into the town and the prisons opened. Out of these materials, with the aid of some radicals a provisional government was formed and the plunder began."—pp. 1418-1428.

The horrors that ensued are only too fresh in the recollection of most. They drew from the federal General Dufour the candid admission "a lost battle could not have brought greater shame upon us." The other Cantons were taken in detail, and nations followed hard upon. Abyss called upon abyss, revolution opened under revolution, and empires with five hundred thousand bayonets were made of no more account than the principedom of Monaco or the kingdom of the Mosquitos. The Jesuits were swept from half the Continent of Europe by the flood, but not submerged. They found a refuge in

the France of February and June, seething with revolutionary passions, sick of society and civilization, reeling from the fumes of civil slaughter, yet destined to shelter the Jesuits, to restore the Pope, to revive authority in its most decided form, to protect religion, and save Europe from an impending tyranny almost worse than that of revolution.

We have only in closing this notice to repeat our fixed opinion that it is difficult to conceive more miserable trifling than that which should refer to the peculiar doctrines of the Jesuits, the animosity of their enemies or the singular variety of their fortunes. The same opinions which had passed unnoticed and uncensured in others were found to the last degree criminal in them; nor can it be forgotten in connexion with one of the charges against the society, that the prime object of the Pharisees in their questions to Him whose name the society adopted, was to trip Him in His words, and we fear that on more occasions than one the answers would be found to be unusually Jesuitical. Suppose the question: "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" were put by an attorney general to a Jesuit on the rack, or say, with reeds inserted between the nail and the skin, and answered in the terms recorded by the Evangelist, we have no doubt whatever such a reply would be stigmatised as a vile quibble and a miserable evasion of the truth; but as to the declaration of the Saviour that He would destroy that temple, and in three days build it up again; *that* certainly could not fail to be considered a mental reservation within the meaning of the Catholic Oath. It is hardly necessary to say, nothing can be further from our minds than to set up a defence of equivocation or quote scripture texts in favour of it—nothing can justify a deviation from truth,—but the real question, which certainly falls under the competence of a theologian and must be remitted even to lay judgment in the absence of direction, will be,—what *does* amount to a violation of the truth? Herr Buss sifts the arguments for and against the Jesuits in this matter with very considerable ability, and brings to bear upon them a large amount of curious and well-digested learning, through which we should gladly follow him if circumstances allowed. Not, indeed, that much is to be gained by this, or any other question of the same kind regarding the Jesuits, for it is habitual with the adversaries of the So-



ciety to regard every doctrine of theirs not as a doctrine in the abstract, and to decide accordingly; but as Jesuit teaching, and therefore necessarily pernicious. "The concert of accusations, most frequently calumnious, which we find amongst the anti-Jesuit writers of the time," says Sismondi, "is positively frightful in its way."\* It availed the Jesuits nothing that probableism as a system was neither invented nor perfected by them, were it indeed susceptible of being perfected, nor is it ever taken into account that any one hesitating between two courses, and disposed to do what is right can only act according to the measure of his light, and must decide for one or the other. No Protestant that has to deal with the Jesuit doctrine, in the matter of regicide, ever condescends to remember that it was neither originated nor pushed to its final development by the Jesuits, and that in speculation it was supported by the first reformers and received its practical application from their descendants.† Those, again, who impute immoral teaching to the Jesuits have never been known to furnish an illustration of its influence from their own knowledge, still less have they thought of collecting evidence, and any one maliciously disposed might feel tempted to hint they had acted with commendable prudence as the evidence was quite the other way. During the season of their highest favour, and when they directed the conscience of every Catholic prince in Europe, it was unheard of that a Jesuit flattered or connived at the irregularities of a penitent. There is, in fact, no accusation that we know of pointing in that direction. It would be something too common-place to enumerate the great men who have borne testimony, willing or constrained, to the pure morality of the Jesuits themselves, and to the purity of that which they inculcated upon their scholars. Every one is familiar with the celebrated passage in Voltaire.

"During the seven years that I spent in the house of the Jesuits

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\* *Histoire de France*, T. xxix. p. 231.

† Luther, Beza Ep. 37 and 40, Knox, Arthusius, *Politica Methodice digesta* cap. xiv. Herbornæ 1603. Stephanus, Junius *Brutus Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. Buchanan, *De Jure Regni* Apud. Scotos. *Hist. Scot.* L. vii. Milton—*Defensio pro Populo Angl.* Op. om. 1759.

what did I witness there? The most laborious and frugal life. The hours of the day divided between the cares they bestowed upon us, and the exercise of their austere profession. I appeal to thousands of men educated like myself; and for this reason I am lost in astonishment at the idea of their being accused of teaching lax morals."—*Œuvres Complètes, Correspondence, t. lv, éd. de 1831.*

The Confessors of Louis XIII. wrought successfully for the reconciliation of that prince with Anne of Austria. A Jesuit Confessor was heard to threaten a royal penitent with the divine malediction if he moved against his mother. The Père Desmarets refused the sacraments to Louis XV., and Père de Sacy to Madame de Pompadour, when any condescension on the part of those patrons of lax morality could not have failed of its reward, and their inflexibility was likely to provoke a swift and unsparing vengeance. But the enemies of the Jesuits seldom descended to details so minute as these; the more general their charges the better. There was nothing too coarse, too monstrous, too incredible; there were no materials too heterogeneous, or too combustible, for playing off against the Jesuits; and the consequence is, that, unless in minds open to the influences of Eugene Sue, or Paul de Kock, the Jesuits are certainly not losing ground. "*Est ars quædam etiam maledicendi,*"—and very few of the antagonists of the Jesuits, none perhaps, Pascal only excepted, seem to have understood it. Bayle says, with sufficient bitterness, that if the Jesuits were to keep in pay the class of writers we usually find attacking them, their money would be well spent. They are certainly not worth the trouble of refutation. It is a more pleasing, as well as a more profitable task, to look with M. Buss into the future of the Society, and see if it be permitted us to speculate upon its duties and destinies in times so strangely beset, so fitful, so treacherous as our own. The Jesuits have the old enemy before them, but his tactics have been changed. Protestantism has had its development as well as the Christian Church, and that development is not to be met or checked with folio or quarto. These were never the exclusive arms of the Society; and a battalion of Bellarmins, or of Petaus, would effect less good, perhaps, at the present day, than the college of Avignon or St. Acheul. Happily, too, no spirit of zeal requires to be evoked among the European Clergy. The Jesuits have no license

to rebuke by the perfection of their lives, no relaxation to shame by the austerity of their discipline; but they have to guide, often to moderate, the zealous, as well as to quicken the tardy; they have to counteract the pernicious literature of the day; and they have to communicate to their system of education all the finish of which it is capable; for this is a field in which their competitors are many and indefatigable. They have a part of peculiar delicacy to play between authority even friendly or protecting; and the people even were prejudiced and hostile. As the Society needs no reform or re-modelling, its great necessity is independence. It requires too, that its familiar name should be met again on the neutral ground of science and literature. Through the rising generation it saved Europe once before, and through the same, Europe must be saved again. We do not speak without experience of what it can effect, and, with all our wish to be impartial in the matter under investigation, we never looked to reach that degree of philosophic indifference which many might consider desirable. It is hardly possible for you, even as a reviewer, without some vice of mental or moral organization, to forget that you have been for years the object of tender nurture, and followed at their close with affectionate solicitude; that athwart all the waywardness and ingratitude of boyhood, a practised eye has been upon the strain to catch the appearance of every ill-defined and rudimentary talent, and a delicate hand ever ready to shape and swathe it into symmetry; that when time admonished to give your faculties scope, the same directing spirit has taught you which should lead and characterize, which correct and balance the entire; that it is your own fault if you are not aspiring without vanity, and modest without timidity; if you have not acquired the secret of your strength with the intimate conviction of your weakness; that your development has been the study of minds the deepest, the vastest, the most versatile in the world; that you have been, and are yourself the living refutation of half the charges against your instructors, and that the remainder vanish before evidence; that your heart has been formed, and your morals guarded with equal assiduity; that you never got a lesson in mental reservation or regicide, and never met with a pupil of the Jesuits who did. All this it is not easy to forget, or remembering to remember with indifference. You cannot, even if perhaps

you ought, discharge your mind of a certain pride and triumph in the reflection that you are thus brought into communion, and almost into companionship, with all the heroes of Catholic story, and all the lights of Catholic literature that have known no different formation from yourself; that you are in some sort the comrade of Ferdinand II., Maximilian I., Wallenstein, Sobieski, Turenne, Bellarmin, Corneille, a thousand, and a thousand others, your forerunners and your models. Perhaps you started on your prosperous career with the generous "ed anch' io," I, too, am a pupil of Jesuits,—you felt that the walls of your own college did not include all your friends, all your companions, all your masters; that the great family knew no limit of countries or sympathies, and that it was true to say of it,

Non Sta fra quelle mura  
 Ella è per tutto  
 Dove ancor non è spento,  
 Di virtù e di libertà l'amor natio  
 SON' ROMA I FIDI MIEL, ROMA SON' IO.

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ART. VII.—1. *History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell.* By M. GUIZOT. Translated by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley, 1854.

2. *History of the English Revolution of 1640, from the Accession of Charles I. to his Death.* By F. GUIZOT. Translated by WILLIAM WAYLETT, Esq. London: Bogue, 1848.

WHEN Agesilaus of Sparta was one day surprised in the middle of a noisy game of hobby-horse with his children, he checked the laughter in which his friend was disposed to indulge at his expense, by begging that "he would not say anything on the subject until he had himself been a father." On a somewhat similar principle it has been said that no historian is capable of entering into the true spirit of the history of revolution, unless he have himself lived through the storms of revolutionary

strife. Personal narratives of such events will always be held liable to suspicion; although of such narratives there is no lack, whether in ancient or modern times. Since the day when Cæsar risked his life by swimming with one hand from his sinking galley, in order to keep his precious Commentaries above water in the other, there have been few periods of strife, whether foreign or domestic, of which the actors themselves have not left some record. Most of these are sufficiently egotistical: many of them are undisguisedly one-sided, and not a few untrustworthy; a large proportion of them, too, are mere fragments, only detailing so much of the facts as fell under the immediate notice of the writer, and seldom aiming at any broad or comprehensive view of the main history of the general movement. Nevertheless, with all their defects; with all the passion and prejudice which every page displays; with all the misrepresentation of enemies and partial estimates of friends,—oftentimes so unscrupulous that even the uninstructed reader may himself discover it;—with all the heat, intemperance, and short-sightedness, which pervade them, it is in these fragmentary narratives that we find the most graphic, the most life-like, and though not the most reliable as to detail, at least the most suggestive, pictures of the periods to which they relate.

We do not, of course, mean that such narratives as these can themselves be regarded as authentic history; but they supply the material, rough but genuine, from which history is best framed. If, in the conflicting statements of writers who are almost necessarily partisans, the truth may sometimes appear inextricably involved, this is little more than occurs in every-day life, where the fullest opportunities of personal examination are afforded; and at all events, whatever of impartiality may be lost by such conflicts, is far more than compensated by the reality and life-like character of the views which they present.

At the same time, great as are the opportunities of full and complete information as to facts and characters, which are enjoyed by contemporary writers, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the history of any important or exciting event, embracing a large number of actors, or a marked diversity of interests, can ever be fully and satisfactorily written at or very near the time of its occurrence. It is not merely that the secret history of the actors and of their motives is only gleaned by slow degrees, either by

the gradual oozing out of confidences as the reasons for concealment disappear, or by the discovery and publication of private and confidential papers, or by the very progress of events themselves, and the developments to which they naturally lead. Independently of these important considerations; independently, too, of the difficulty which a contemporary must always feel in divesting himself of party bias in reference to matters of great public interest during his own time, the full bearing of such events can only be taken in after an interval. Like an extensive landscape, they can be seen in their completeness only from a distance; and it has sometimes happened that after years had passed away, and after most of the actors had disappeared from the scene, new relations and connexions of men and events have been discovered, of which not a trace, and not even a suspicion of any trace, had previously existed, and by which the former verdict regarding them has been materially modified, if not entirely reversed. Scarcely a year passes without new and most striking evidence of this fact, in reference to almost all the leading periods of modern history.

Nevertheless, it constantly occurs that events and periods repeat themselves in history. The world moves in a circle. With a little allowance for accidental variations, it will be found, in the main, that each new dynasty is a type of some former one; each revolution is a transcript of its predecessor. The circumstances, the actors, and the causes which call them into action, of course differ in each. The order of events varies, and perhaps is even inverted. Parties which in one revolution rise to the ascendant, in another suffer inglorious defeat. But the main character of all revolutionary struggles will be found to have been tolerably uniform. The same general principle is, in most cases, brought to issue; the same great classes are found in antagonism; the same interests contend for ascendancy; and, whatever may be the varieties of individual character, the same unvarying passions and impulses will be found in full activity. Each revolution, therefore, throws light upon those which have gone before it; and it has not unfrequently happened that the memory of revolutions long past, has served to the actors in some new revolutionary warfare, as a salutary warning against similar dangers, or that the history of modern revolutions has supplied a commentary upon much that



was dark and doubtful in that of the revolutions of the olden time.

When M. Guizot, therefore, undertook to write the history of the English Revolution, it was felt that his familiarity with the still fresh memories of the first French Revolution, and still more, his personal connexion with that of 1830, formed no mean qualification for the task. Since the publication of the first portion of his work, the events of 1848, in which his participation was still more direct and immediate, have added still more largely to that experimental knowledge of the secret history of revolutions. Nor has he failed to avail himself of the reflected light which these two great crises in English and French history cast upon each other. During the first years of his exile in England, his earliest appeals to the returning calmness and moderation of parties among his countrymen, were founded upon historical parallels, drawn from the kindred events in England during the last half of the seventeenth century. His "*Democracy in France*;" his "*Causes of the Success of the English Revolution*;" his "*Monk's Contemporaries*," (although it was but a recast of a series of Essays written many years before); all professedly addressed themselves to this theme. In truth, if we may judge from the tone which pervades them all, we would say that M. Guizot writes like a man who, even in the most active and stirring scenes of the eventful period through which he lived, has seldom withdrawn his mind from that great historical crisis in the destiny of England, which has been his occupation of his leisure for years to analyse and illustrate. As a politician, he has drawn political capital and political experience from the history of the past; while he has equally, and even more perseveringly used his experience as a politician, to direct and assist his researches and his judgment as a historian. He may be said, in some sense, to have written with all the experience of a contemporary, relieved from the personal and partisan prejudices at the expense of which such experience is ordinarily purchased.

The English Revolution, indeed, may be said to have formed a main study of M. Guizot's life. The labour incidental to the preparation of the immense collection of "*Memoires*" relating to it which he edited, would in itself have supplied occupation for the best years of a less energetic student. To him it seems to have been but an

interlude between the busier scenes of a literary and political life. But it was the best preparation for his present task; and the familiarity with contemporary writers, which both portions of this work display,—with Hollis, Ludlow, Thurloe, Whitelock, Selburne, May, Clarendon, Reresby, Rushworth, Oldmixon, and the other annalists of the Revolution,—is the well-earned reward of his assiduity in the more humble path of an editor and collector.

M. Guizot divides the history of the English Revolution (under which name he includes the sixty-three years, from the accession of Charles I., in 1625, to the fall of James II. in 1688,) into four periods. The first comprehends the reign of Charles and that conflict with the Long Parliament in which he fell; the second comprises the history of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell; the third, the Restoration of the Monarchy; and the fourth, the reigns of Charles II., and James II. The history of the first of these periods has already been for some years before the public; and although it is itself well deserving of a formal examination, the interest of the second period, which has just appeared, is so much more novel and attractive, that the reader must pardon us if we confine ourselves exclusively, or at least principally, to the latter. The career of Oliver Cromwell is one of the most curious problems in history, and every contribution towards a satisfactory solution of it, especially from so accomplished a hand as that of Monsieur Guizot, will be received with respect and welcome even by those who may differ most widely from him in their estimate of the very first principles upon which it is to be resolved. For ourselves, we need hardly say that we have never made a secret of the feelings with which we regard M. Guizot. As Catholics, and lovers of the rights of conscience in the person of Catholics, we owe him, whether as a politician or as a historian, but little gratitude. To most of his views on religion and philosophy we are irreconcilably opposed; and we have often felt as if the scanty measure of acknowledgment of the social services of the Church during the mediæval times, which he has occasionally vouchsafed, but served by the contrast to bring out more strongly the bitter and half contemptuous hostility to her modern representative which lies at the bottom of many of his most elaborate speculations. But we have never concealed, neverthe-

less, our admiration of M. Guizot's genius, of his skill in grouping and estimating events: and above all, of the vigour, perspicuity, and graphic force of his pen. Of most of these qualities the work now before us is a specimen fully equal to any of his earlier publications. If we abstain from saying that it is so in them all, it is because, while the evidences of learning, research, and patient impartiality which it displays are more abundant than in any other of his works, the very effort to maintain the calm and impartial tone which is apparent even in the most exciting crisis of the history, has had an injurious effect upon the picturesqueness and vivacity of the narrative. The fault with which he himself, in the preface of the first portion of his *History of the English Revolution*, charges Dr. Lingard, that "he fails by his impartiality to restore life to history," is far more apparent in his own production. And, although we are far from that indiscriminate admiration of the well-known system of "picture making," which has become so popular in the modern school of history, and of which Thierry, Michelet, and Lamartine, are the great representatives in France, yet we cannot but regret to miss in the present work the rapid and lively narrative—the quick and keen apprehension of the opinions, passions, and tendencies of the actors—and the clear and well-balanced grouping of them all, in which no writer of modern France is more successful than M. Guizot, not only in some of his former publications, but still more in those elaborate and classical oratorical displays in which he occasionally indulged in the *tribune* of the French Chamber.

The first portion of the history contained a considerable number of interesting unpublished papers, partly of a private, partly of an official character. The present volumes are still more rich. The opportunities which the author enjoyed in his official capacity, have been turned to the best account. The correspondence of the French ambassador in England, preserved in the French Foreign Office, is for the most part new; and many interesting papers are now for the first time produced from other manuscript collections in Paris, but chiefly from the archives of Simancas in Spain. We may instance here particularly the letters addressed by Lewis XIV. to Cromwell and to Fairfax, on behalf of Charles I., and entrusted for presentation to M. De Varennes, but never delivered, as the unhappy king

had been executed even before De Varennes had taken his departure from Paris. Hitherto it had commonly been supposed that both France and Spain looked on with selfish and cowardly indifference during the trial of the unfortunate king; and in France especially it was regarded as peculiarly dishonourable, connected with him by alliances as was the royal house of that kingdom. M. Guizot's discovery, indeed, proves, that speaking literally, the allegation is unfounded. But it leaves the main charge entirely unrefuted. It is plain from all the circumstances, that this tardy and timid interference was extorted by shame, rather than dictated by friendly solicitude. The actual ambassador of France in London, M. de Bellièvre, "made no attempt on his behalf;" he did not even ask permission to see him. Some surprise was manifested at this at Paris, in the King's Council; but Bellièvre was warmly defended and approved. 'I see the necessity which I have for your protection,' he wrote to M. Servien, 'and the kindness with which you have extended it to me. I thought it was better to be blamed for not having taken a step which any one might have seen could produce no advantage to the King of England, than to be guilty of the harm which that step might have done to the affairs of the King, my master. For, as you know very well, they are so suspicious here with regard to everything that proceeds from France, that that which would pass unnoticed from others, is declared criminal when it comes from us; and as, of foreign powers, they fear us alone, they pay such attention to our actions and our words, that the least expression of the resentment which we must feel for that which they have done, might be enough to lead them to make alliance with Spain; and the knowledge of this fact, combined with the general instructions which I have always received not to irritate these fellows (*ces gens-ci*), made me resolve to act as I have done. I cannot repent of having been too circumspect, as I now find myself supported by your approval.' — pp. 205—206.

The new materials, however, which M. Guizot has accumulated, cannot but be regarded as an important contribution to the study of the character of the subject of this biography. They are, for the most part, the correspondence of the foreign ambassadors, especially those of France and Spain with their respective governments; and may naturally be accepted as supplying a more dispassionate view of

the events passing under their eyes, and a more impartial estimate of the conduct and the motives of the actors, than could be derived from the reports of those who felt a more immediate and personal interest in the result. M. Guizot himself appears to have looked upon them simply as such, and to have used them with the most rigorous impartiality as a means of balancing the conflicting statements of home authorities, and even as a key to the more secret negotiations upon domestic affairs; with some of which the foreign residents appear to have been better acquainted than parties who might be supposed to have had a direct and natural connexion with them.

There is one branch of the history of the Protectorate on which he has thrown much additional light, and which, indeed, he may be said to have for the first time fully elucidated;—the foreign relations of England during that eventful period. In the eyes of the English historians, of course, this portion of the history was by far the least interesting; to a foreigner, and especially to a foreign statesman, on the contrary, it is the first which presents itself; and the new documents which are contained in M. Guizot's appendix, (and particularly those of the second volume), will be found full of interest.

Our present concern, however, is with the life and character of the great Protector himself. There are few personages in history of whom more conflicting estimates have been formed. By one party he is regarded as a vulgar and selfish hypocrite; by another, as an impersonation of genius, energy, and manhood. Among his contemporary biographers, one class can find no key to his history, whether in gross or in detail, but that of self, and the desire of self-aggrandizement; the other, even where they recognize the evidence of self-seeking in his conduct, extenuate and even dignify it by the motive to which, in their judgment, it is ascribed. Later historians have endeavoured to strike a balance between these two opposite estimates, and have leaned in varying degree towards one or other extreme. On the whole, however, up to a recent period, the unfavourable view of Cromwell's character, with certain modifications, was that which had found universal acceptance. Almost the first hearty and energetic appeal against the general verdict, even that of the modern Puritan historians, was Mr. Carlyle's. Those who are acquainted with the habitual turn of Mr. Carlyle's pronouncements, need not

be informed that his appeal was no half measure. He leaped, without hesitation, to the very extreme of the controversy. With him "the brave Oliver" became the type of "a deep believing man"—a MAN in the best and noblest acceptance of the idea. True to his cherished principles of hero-worship, he thought and wrote of Cromwell as the impersonation of that enthusiasm, which, in his eyes, is not alone the source, but the constituent of greatness—the embodiment of the sacred "traditions of humanity." In his own vaporous and misty phraseology, his place in history appeared as "a sacred island girdled with Eternities and Godhoods." It is the "culminating point in the history of Protestantism;" and he himself is "the *eidolon* of divine inspiration." His departures from what "shallow sceptical generations" regarded as the principles of right and wrong, were but privileged exemptions from conventional laws in favour of principles which, though eternal in themselves, yet have their alternate periods of manifestation and occultation among men. And with his accustomed intolerance and impetuosity, Mr. Carlyle denounced almost all the previous historians as imbecile, and the earlier historical collections as "balderdash," "lumber-mountains," "shot-rubbish," through which you "but look into the infinite vague of the black and inane!"

This cry was zealously taken up and echoed by the crowd of Mr. Carlyle's imitators and admirers; although it was admitted that his book was an appeal against the verdict, not merely of historians, but of history itself; and a very curious chapter of hero-worship might be compiled from the contemporary criticism, with which "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" was received both in England and America. Even after the fever had abated, Mr. Macaulay did not hesitate to pronounce Cromwell\* "the greatest prince that ever ruled England;" and, although he does not enter into a full examination of his acts and motives throughout his whole career, yet, in a calm and deliberate review of the historical evidence as to the most important of them all, namely, the share which he had in the trial and execution of the ill-fated king, he declared it "on the whole probable, that he who seemed to lead, was in reality forced to follow, and sacrificed his own judgment and his own inclinations to the wishes of the army."

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\* History of England, chapter ii. I. 153.



M. Guizot appears to have written the history of Cromwell, if not in utter unconsciousness, at least in complete indifference, both to the received verdict of former historians, and to this marked reaction of later years; but we fear that when Mr. Carlyle next returns to the subject, he will be obliged to add one more to the number of "imbeciles," and to groan once again over "the histories and biographies of this Cromwell, written in shallow sceptical generations, that could not know or conceive of a 'deep-believing man.'"

The early history of Cromwell belongs to the former portion of M. Guizot's work. We shall not dwell upon it. It will be enough to remind the reader, that he was born at Huntingdon, in the last year of the sixteenth century, of a family which may in some sense be called noble, and which, on the maternal side, has been alleged, perhaps by the flatterers of its day of greatness, to have been connected with the royal blood of Stuart; that after a preliminary training in the public school of his native town, he matriculated at sixteen in Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, and probably afterwards entered the Temple as a law-student; that (however Mr. Carlyle may seek to impugn or extenuate the evidence) his career was a wild and dissolute one; that, nevertheless, he married early, at twenty-one, and returned with his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, to his paternal estate, where he lived in retirement till 1627—8, in which year he was returned to parliament for his native town, as also again in the Short Parliament of 1640, and in the Long Parliament which followed soon after the dissolution; and, eventually, in the September of 1642, became a captain of the Parliamentary army, in which he rose by rapid gradations to the chief command.

We must pass over these preliminary details in order to come to that portion of the history which forms the subject of M. Guizot's present volumes. But there is one scene to which we must briefly advert; not only because it is one of the earliest illustrations at once of the profound duplicity of Cromwell, as of the extraordinary power which he was able to exercise even over an unfriendly audience, but still more, because it is one of those in which Carlyle and the other apologists of the Protector have taken care to conceal the most damning evidences of his double-dealing and audacious falsehood. We allude to the cele-

brated *coup-de-main* of Cornet Joyce at Holmby, by which the army got possession of the King's person, and thus obtained their first and most signal advantage against the Parliament. That this step was taken by the advice and instigation of Cromwell, no reasonable man can doubt. Huntingdon alleges that it was advised by him and Ireton. Hollis asserts that it was actually planned at his house; and if we could doubt their testimony, there is still more unquestionable evidence of his complicity in the fact that when Joyce had fully succeeded in the project, his letter announcing the complete success of this step, was addressed to Cromwell. With these facts before the reader's mind, let him study the following graphic description of the scene which occurred in the Parliament when Cromwell was taxed with complicity in this audacious proceeding.

"Further information, however, by exciting indignation, restored some degree of courage to the parliament; they received from the commissioners details of what had taken place at Holmby; they became acquainted with the letter from Joyce to Cromwell; they even thought they knew exactly on what day, at head-quarters, in a conference between some officers and the principal agitators, this audacious *coup-de-main* had been planned and decided upon at Cromwell's instigation. When the lieutenant-general reappeared in the house, their suspicions were given utterance to; he repelled them with vehemence, calling God, angels, men, to witness, that up to that day Joyce was as unknown to him as the light of the sun to the unborn child. None the less for that, the conviction of Holles, Glynn, and Grimstone, remained unshaken, and they sought everywhere for proofs, resolved to take the first opportunity of moving his arrest. One morning, a little before the house met, two officers waited upon Grimstone. 'Not long since,' said they, 'was discussed, in an assembly of officers, whether it would not be well to purge the army, so as to have there only men in whom confidences could be placed; 'I am sure of the army,' Cromwell said on the occasion, 'but there is another body which it is far more urgent to purge, the house of Commons—and the army alone can do this.'" "Will you repeat these words to the house?" asked Grimstone. "We are ready to do so," answered the officers; and they accompanied him to Westminster. The house was sitting; a debate was begun: "Mr. Speaker," said Grimstone, as soon as he entered, "I move that this debate be adjourned; I have a much more urgent matter to put to it, a far graver question, a question affecting our liberty, our very existence;" and he forthwith charged Cromwell who was present, with intending to employ the army against the Parliament. "My witnesses are here," he said; "I move that they be admitted."

The two officers came, and repeated their statement. They were no sooner withdrawn than Cromwell arose, and, falling on his knees, after a passion of tears, with a vehemence of sobs, words, and gestures that filled the whole assembly with emotions or astonishment, poured forth invocations and fervent prayers, invoking upon his head every curse of God, if any man in the kingdom was more faithful than he to the house. Then, rising, he spoke for more than two hours of the King, the army, of his enemies, of his friends, of himself; touching upon and mixing up all things; humble and audacious, verbose and impassioned, earnestly repeating, again and again, that he was unjustly assailed, compromised without reason; that with the exception of a few men whose eyes were turned towards the land of Egypt, officers and soldiers, all were devoted to him, and easy to keep under his command. In a word, such was his success, that, when he sat down, the ascendancy had altogether gone over to his party, and, "if he had pleased," as Grimstone himself said, thirty years afterwards, "the house would have sent us to the Tower, me and my officers, as calumniators."—Bogue's edition of Guizot, pp. 329-334.

One other passage of the history, prior to the death of Charles, is deserving of notice. We have already recited Mr. Macaulay's very decided expression of opinion as to the sentiments by which Cromwell was influenced on the great question of the king's trial and execution. He acquits him in this matter of all suspicion of having acted in any other way than as the instrument of the vengeance of the army; and represents his complicity in the sentence of death as "a sacrifice of his own judgment and inclinations." Nothing could be more contrary to the whole tenor of the history. He not only concurred cordially and energetically in every step that was taken towards the trial and condemnation of the king; but he exhibited, on more than one occasion, symptoms of personal feeling too evident to be overlooked. He treated with rude indignity the advocates of moderation. He lost no opportunity of driving on the extreme. At the first meetings of the so-called "Court of Justice," Algernon Sydney, then very young, who had been named a member, went to London for the purpose of opposing the trial, although it appeared to have been decided upon. He urged the danger of proceeding to extremities. He expressed a fear that the contemplated step would create in the minds of the people a rooted aversion for a republic, and hinted that it might even provoke a dangerous insurrection. Cromwell resented this, with what can hardly be called other than

personal bitterness. "No one will stir," he impetuously exclaimed; "I tell you *we will cut off his head with the crown upon it.*" Sydney left the Court, never more to return. So again, on occasion of the trial, when the king put forward his celebrated demand, "to be heard in the Painted chamber by the Lords and Commons, on a proposal of greater importance to the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of his subjects than to his own preservation," when Colonel Downs moved the adjournment of the court, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of those around him, declared that "if he died for it, he must do it," Cromwell assailed him with the same ferocious violence.

"Colonel," said he, "are you yourself? What mean you? Can't you be quiet?" "Sir," answered Downs; no, I cannot be quiet;" and immediately rising, he said to the president: "My lord, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, and have reasons to offer to you against it, and I desire the court may adjourn to hear me and deliberate." "If any one of the court," gravely answered Bradshaw, "be unsatisfied, the court must adjourn;" and they all immediately passed into an adjoining room.

They were no sooner there than Cromwell roughly assailed the colonel, upbraiding him for the difficulty and confusion in which he was involving the court. Downs defended himself with agitation, alleging that perhaps the King's proposals would be satisfactory, that, after all, what they had sought, what they still sought, were good and solid guarantees; that they ought not to refuse, without knowing what they were, those which the king wished to offer; that they owed it to him at least to hear him, and to respect, in his person, the ordinary rules of common justice. Cromwell heard him with rude impatience, moving round and round him, and interrupting him at every word: "At last," said he, "we see what great reason the gentleman had to put such a trouble and disturbance upon us; sure, he doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest hearted man that lives upon the earth. However, it is not fit that the court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man. The bottom of all this is known; he would fain save his old master; let us, without more ado, go back and do our duty." In vain did Colonel Harvey and some others support the opinion of Downs; the discussion was speedily repressed; in half-an-hour, the court returned to the hall, and Bradshaw declared to the King that they rejected his proposition.—Bogue's edition of Guizot, pp. 425-426.

But the most disgusting evidence of all is his conduct on occasion of signing the death warrant. It was not

alone that he exhibited no sign of pity for fallen greatness, nor of reluctance to shed the blood of one who, with all his faults, had shown himself in his last hours not unworthy of his high station. We can imagine an enthusiastic republican, under the influence of stern duty, carrying out what he felt to be a high and holy purpose with solemn earnestness, or even with fierce fanaticism. But in Cromwell's conduct there is nothing of this. He was the third to sign his name. His manner was marked, not by insensibility, but by actual levity and coarse buffoonery. In rude and clumsy sport he smeared with ink the face of one of his colleagues, Henry Martyn, who returned the unfeeling joke; and when Ingoldsby came into the room, he made a jest of his anticipated reluctance to sign the warrant, and with a coarse asseveration that he should not be allowed to escape, he seized hold of him, forced the pen into his fingers, and actually guided his hand till he had completed his signature!

And this is what Mr. Macaulay describes as sacrificing his own judgment and inclinations! Only conceive with what scathing sarcasm he would have fastened upon such a fact in the life of the unfortunate James II., and with what fearful effect he would have wrought it up into a picture of monstrous cruelty!

However, by far the most interesting portion of M. Guizot's work is that which regards the career of Cromwell, when, after the king's execution, and still more after the final defeat of the royalist party and the "crowning mercy" of Worcester, he rose to what in reality, though not as yet in name, was the supreme power within the realm of England. Such was, in fact, his position at the head of a united and victorious army, thoroughly devoted to his person and his fortunes. The leaders of the Parliament, still nominally supreme, had long been conscious of the weakness of their position, in the presence of a power such as that which they had hitherto sought to use as their instrument, but which they had painfully felt to be, and to know itself to be, their sovereign master. The details of the struggle are narrated with great perspicuity and force by M. Guizot;—the efforts made by the Parliament to reduce the numbers of its formidable antagonist; the discontents and suspicions with which this attempt was regarded by the army; the consummate skill with which Cromwell, while he avoided compromising himself with

either, fermented the jealousies of both; how he yielded to the demands of the Parliament, where yielding practically withdrew nothing from the strength of the army on which he had resolved to rely; how he obtained popularity with the general body of the nation at the expense of both the contending parties; how he secretly kept alive the discontents of the army, and privately abetted their demands, and those of the nation at large, for the speedy dissolution of the Parliament, without, however, unduly urging it forward, until at last the time became ripe for his great master-stroke of policy, as well as daring—the forcible dismissal of that famous assembly. In all this there is hardly anything that is new; but it is narrated by M. Guizot with more vivacity and with better effect than perhaps any other part of the entire history.

With the abrupt and contumelious dismissal of the Long Parliament begins the next great act in the drama of Cromwell's life. Having appointed a State Council of thirteen members, nine military and four civil, (which he notified by a declaration, significantly enough, drawn up in his own name and signed by himself alone), he resolved on summoning an assembly “of known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity.” He therefore issued writs in his own name to a hundred and thirty-nine persons; viz., a hundred and twenty-two for England, six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland; and it is a circumstance curiously illustrative of the fortune of revolutions, that the name of Fairfax, though suggested and discussed, was formally set aside from the list of members. This was the well-known Bare-bone Parliament. It was the first step in Cromwell's career towards monarchy; but it was not sufficiently pliant for the purposes of its author, and was speedily got rid of. Mr. Carlyle and the other apologists of Cromwell represent the surrender of its powers into the Lord General's hands as voluntary. But M. Guizot is of a very different opinion. As soon as it proved troublesome to him, means were speedily found to abate the nuisance.

“Cromwell was an attentive observer of these disorders and conflicts. It was in the name and with the support of the reforming sectaries that he had expelled the Long Parliament, and assumed possession of the supreme power; and he had very recently combined with them in demanding what they now sought to obtain. But he had quickly perceived that such innovators, though useful



instruments of destruction, were destructive to the very power they had established; and that the classes among whom conservative interests prevailed, were the natural and permanent allies of authority. Besides, he was influenced by no principles or scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct and seeking out other friends. To govern was his sole aim; whoever stood in the way of his attainment of the reins of government, or of his continuance at the head of the State, was his adversary; he had no friends but his agents. The landed proprietors, the clergy, and the lawyers, had need of him, and were ready to support him if he would defend them: he made an alliance with them, thus completely changing his position, and becoming an aristocrat and conservative instead of a democrat and revolutionist. But he was an able and prudent man, and he knew the art of breaking with old allies only so far as suited his purpose, and of humouring them even when he intended to break with them. He sent for the principal leaders of the sectaries, the Anabaptist preacher, Feake, among others; upbraided them with the blind violence of their opposition which, both at home and abroad, tended only to the advantage of their common enemies, and declared that they would be responsible for all the consequences that might ensue. 'My lord,' said Feake, 'I wish that what you have said, and what I answer, may be recorded in heaven; it is your tampering with the king, and your assuming an exorbitant power, which have made these disorders.' 'When I heard you begin with a record in heaven,' answered Cromwell, 'I did not expect that you would have told such a lie upon earth; but, rest assured, that whenever we shall be harder pressed by the enemy than we have yet been, it will be necessary to begin first with you.' And he dismissed them without further rebuke. But his resolution was taken; and, in his soul, the fate of a Parliament in which such persons had so much influence, was irrevocably determined."—vol. ii., pp. 30-1.

The Lord General himself did not appear in the affair. The party within the assembly devoted to his interests forced on matters to the desired crisis. After a violent debate, in which, though the anti-Cromwell party had been taken by surprise, it had begun to recover itself, and to threaten a serious opposition, Rouse, the Speaker, "suddenly left the chair, and broke up the sitting. The serjeant took up the mace and carried it before him, as he left the hall. About forty members followed him, and they proceeded together towards Whitehall. Thirty or thirty-five members remained in the House, in great indignation and embarrassment, for they were not sufficiently numerous to make a House; but twenty-seven of them,

Harrison among the number, resolved to keep their seats, and proposed to pass the time in prayer. But two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White, suddenly entered the House, and desired them to withdraw; they answered that they would not do so, unless compelled by force. White called in a file of musketeers; the House was cleared, and sentinels were placed at the doors, in charge of the keys. The Cavaliers, in their ironical narratives of the occurrence, assert that, on entering the House, White said to Harrison: 'What do you here?' 'We are seeking the Lord,' replied Harrison. 'Then,' returned White, 'you may go elsewhere, for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these twelve years.'

Cromwell, however, thought it necessary to put on the appearance of reluctance, and to throw upon themselves the responsibility of the dissolution of the assembly.

"Meanwhile, the Speaker, and the members who had accompanied him, had arrived at Whitehall. They first of all went into a private room, and hurriedly wrote a brief resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This they signed, and then demanded an interview with the Lord General. He expressed extreme surprise at their proceeding, declaring that he was not prepared for such an offer, nor able to load himself with so heavy and serious a burden. But Lambert, Sydenham, and the other members insisted; their resolution was taken;—he must accept the restoration of power which he had himself conferred. He yielded at last. The act of abdication was left open for three or four days, for the signatures of those members who had not come to Whitehall; and it soon exhibited eighty names—a majority of the whole assembly. Cromwell had slain the Long Parliament with his own hand; he did not vouchsafe so much honour to the Parliament which he had himself created; a ridiculous act of suicide, and the ridiculous nickname which it derived from one of its most obscure members, Mr. Praisegod Barebone, a leather-seller in the city of London, are the only recollections which this assembly has left in history. And yet, it was deficient neither in honesty nor in patriotism; but it was absolutely wanting in dignity when it allowed its existence to rest on a falsehood, and in good sense when it attempted to reform the whole framework of English society: such a task was infinitely above its strength and capacity. The Barebone Parliament had been intended by Cromwell as an expedient; it disappeared as soon as it attempted to become an independent power."—II., pp. 34-5.

The dissolution of this phantom of representative government naturally consolidated the power of the Lord General. Four days afterwards he was solemnly inaugurated

at Westminster in the office of "Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Ireland, and Scotland." It is said that the original intention of his partizans had been to confer upon him at once the title of King, and that an instrument of that tenor had actually been prepared and drawn up. But the time had not yet come. Whether, M. Guizot adds, from his own instinctive perception of the fitness of circumstances, or from the advice of friends, and perhaps fear of the opposition of the more stern republicans, many of whom were to be found even among his personal confidants, he discountenanced the idea;—content for the time to possess the substance, without the name, of kingly authority, and to watch a more favourable moment for its extension and its perpetuation in his family.

One of the main elements of the strength of his position was the success of his foreign policy, and at no period was it more marked than after the abrupt dismissal of this unlucky assembly. His popularity, too, was increased by the failure of a number of alleged conspiracies against his life; while his ambition was fostered by rumours which had passed into circulation of his intended assumption of the royal dignity. Resolved, however, to bide his opportunity, he ventured upon a second attempt at representative government, the election being in this instance, left comparatively free.

"It was the first time, for fourteen years, that England had been called upon to elect a Parliament, and the electoral system was altogether new; the Constitutional Act had borrowed it almost entirely from the plan which Vane was on the point of getting voted by the Long Parliament, on the very day of its expulsion by Cromwell. There were to be four hundred and sixty members,—four hundred for England and Wales (of whom two hundred and fifty-one were to represent counties, and a hundred and forty-nine, cities and boroughs), thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; all persons possessing real or personal property to the value of 200*l*, were entitled to vote; no one was eligible for election unless he were a man of acknowledged integrity, fearing God, of unblemished morals, and twenty-one years of age; all persons who had taken part against the Parliament since the 1st of January, 1641, and all Catholics were deprived of the right of voting and of being voted for; this, briefly, was the system. Three parties strongly contested the elections: the adherents of the Protector, the Republicans, and the Presbyterians who made war against the king, but who regretted the abolition of kingship. All the important members of Cromwell's Government, with the exception of Lord Lisle, were

elected ; among the republican leaders, Vane, Ludlow, Sidney, and Hutchinson either did not become candidates, or were rejected ; but Bradshaw, Scott, Haslerig, and others, equally staunch, though less known, were chosen in preference to the Protector's candidates. The Presbyterians were numerous ; they came, not as determined opponents, but as independent and not very friendly neutrals. The same condition was imposed on all, both by the twelfth article of the instrument of Government, and by the form of the writ ordaining their election ; ' That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the Government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament.' "

The new Parliament met on the 3rd September, 1654, the anniversary of the Protector's memorable victories at Dunbar and Worcester. It soon became apparent, however, that whatever of freedom had been left to the electors by whom the members had been chosen, they themselves were expected to submit without question to the great spirit by which England's destinies were for the time overuled. It is curious to observe how lightly the arbitrary and despotic proceedings of Cromwell towards this and every other nominally free assembly which he convened, are dealt with by those who are most vehement in their denunciations of the tyranny of Charles and of James. The very first symptoms of a disposition on the part of Oliver's new Parliament to discuss the propriety of the existing arrangement, was met by a *coup-d'-etat* similar to that under which its unhappy predecessor, the Rump, had ingloriously fallen. One morning, the members, on their arrival at Westminster, found the Parliament House shut, and guarded ; they were ordered by the soldiers on guard to repair to the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would meet them ; and when there assembled, were paralysed by the announcement that the topic which they had ventured to discuss, was one on which no discussion could be tolerated ; that an engagement to this effect would be submitted to each member for signature, and that no one who declined to sign it would be permitted to retain his seat ! And yet, this "purge," sweeping as it may seem, was not sufficient. A hundred and fifty members had been already disposed of at a blow. But even the remnant was too uncompliant for the work which it was required to do ; and, on the 22nd January, 1655, the Protector again presented himself to his lieges,—“I have troubled you,” he told

them at the close of a lengthy harangue, "with a long speech: and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God:—and conclude with this: that I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer, and therefore I do declare unto you, THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT!"

Driven thus to the same expedients which he had himself so often denounced in his ill-fated sovereign, Cromwell next tried the experiment of ruling without a Parliament. It is of this part of his administration that his panegyrists speak with the most enthusiastic admiration. Mr. Macaulay, who is peculiarly sensitive as to the purity of the seats of justice, and who lashes with even more than his characteristic vehemence the corruption of the judicial bench in the ill-starred reign of James II., is eloquent in his commendation of its justice and integrity under the Protectorate. Property, he affirms, was secure under it; even the cavalier, who refrained from disturbing the new settlement, enjoyed in peace whatever the civil troubles had left him. Above all, if we may trust his assurance, "justice was administered between man and man with an exactness and purity not hitherto known." How different M. Guizot's plain statement of facts from these ambitious but vague declamations of Mr. Macaulay!

“Though delivered for a time from plots, he encountered another kind of obstacle, certainly more inconvenient, if not more formidable; he had to overcome attempts at legal resistance. A merchant in the city, named Cony, who had long been on intimate terms with Cromwell, refused the payment of certain custom duties, which, he said, had been illegally levied: as they had been imposed in virtue of an ordinance of the Protector which had not received the sanction of the Parliament. This was on the 4th of November, 1654; on the 6th, Cony was summoned before the Commissioners of Customs; and on the 16th he was condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. On his refusing to pay either the fine or the duties, Cromwell sent for him, ‘reminded him of the old kindness and friendship that had been between them, and said that, of all men, he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.’ Cony, in his turn, reminded the Protector of their old principles, and recalled to his memory his own expression in the Long Parliament—‘that the subject who submits to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his

country than the tyrant who imposes it.' Cromwell grew angry, and said, 'I have a will as stubborn as yours is, and we will try which of the two will be master : ' and Cony was sent to prison on the 12th of December. He claimed his writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Upper Bench ; and retained three of the most eminent lawyers at the bar—Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham—to plead his cause. They did so, and Maynard in particular is said to have argued the case with such vigour that Cromwell took the alarm ; the argument tended to nothing less than the absolute denial of the legality of his authority, and if Cony had been acquitted, in virtue of the same principles, refuse to pay any taxes at all. On the day after the pleading, Maynard and his two colleagues were sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. This was an extreme measure, but proved insufficient ; Cony did not give up his point ; he appeared before the Court, unsupported by Counsel, and defended himself so ably that Chief Justice Rolle, feeling embarrassed at his position, and not knowing how to cover the dishonour of the sentence which he was expected to pronounce, deferred judgment and adjourned the case till the next term, leaving Cromwell in anxious suspense, and Cony in prison."—II, p. 138.

One of Mr. Macaulay's worst charges, too, against James, and that on which he dwells with most stinging severity, is his tampering with the judges, compelling them by fear, or seducing them by more disreputable influences, to yield themselves as pliant instruments of his arbitrary and vindictive will. But he cannot find a word of censure for the similar outrages upon justice which disgraced the rule of his adopted hero, Oliver. Not a word for the dismissal of the intrepid Rolle, who refused to try, at his dictation, Penruddock and the Western insurgents ; nor for the appointment of the more manageable Glyn in his stead. Not a word for his deprivation of Thorpe and Newdegate in similar circumstances ; for his coarse and angry assault upon Hale, when he ventured to set aside a packed jury-list, prepared by the sheriff, under the Protector's own orders ; nor for the rude but expressive taunt with which he assailed him, "that he was not fit to be a judge." Not a word, in fine, for the contemptuous disregard of law, privilege, and precedent, with which he flung aside the defence which the judges who tried Cony's case set up from *Magna Charta*, for their conduct in permitting his counsel the freedom of defence in which they indulged ; "Your *Magna Charta*," said he, with a vulgar oath, "shall not control my actions, which I know to be



for the safety of the Commonwealth. Who made you judges? Have you any authority to sit there but what I gave you?" Heaven preserve our generation from "purity and exactness" like this, "in the administration of justice!"

Meanwhile, however, Cromwell had been advancing with secret and cautious, but steady steps, towards the great object of his ambition—the establishment of hereditary royalty in his family. In the March of 1654 he had thrown off the mask as far as to establish, in the form of audience accorded to the Dutch ambassadors, a ceremonial hardly less solemn and stately, than that of the great model of kingly etiquette, Versailles—the elevated platform; the triple reverence in approaching the dais and in retiring from the presence; the formal presentation of visitors, solicitous of "the honour to kiss his Highness's hands." The design was suspected not only at home, but in almost every court of Europe. Queen Christina of Sweden, in a most characteristic interview with the English envoy, Whitelock, of which M. Guizot has given a very curious and interesting account (II. 47—8), openly ridiculed Whitelock's protestations to the contrary. "Resolve what you will," said she, with her own abrupt energy, "I believe he resolves to be a king!" M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador, gave repeated intimations of a similar import to his court; and a still more singular suspicion is recited by M. Guizot from a contemporary MS. diary, preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, (from 1648 to 1657), that "with a view to secure the approbation of all Christendom to his project, he had actually sent two English Catholics to Rome, who were negotiating underhand with His Holiness on his behalf, and endeavouring to persuade him that by giving his consent to the design, he would assuredly bring within the pale of the Church that infinite number of souls who recognize his authority!"

Other subordinate schemes of ambition, too, were passing through his mind. The idea of an alliance with the young King Charles II., was more than once suggested to him, and received by him in a way which plainly showed that it had been a not unfamiliar thought of his own. And whatever may have been his views of this marriage, certain it is, that he prepared the way for the greatness to which he was secretly aspiring, by seeking for his daughters

alliances not unsuited to the rank which he himself hoped eventually to attain. An amusing example of the earnestness and energy with which he pursued this object, as well as of the ready wit and decision which ever marked his character in private as in public life, is given by M. Guizot.

"On the 18th of November, 1657, his daughter Mary married Lord Faulconbridge. Frances, his youngest daughter, had at one time seemed destined to a loftier alliance; Lord Broghill had conceived the idea of marrying her to Charles II., and affecting his restoration on these terms: it is even stated that Charles had signified his willingness to accept such a proposal, and that Lady Dysart (who, according to some authorities, was too intimate a friend of the Protector) had mentioned the matter to the Protectress, who had endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to induce her husband to consent to the match. 'You are a fool,' said Cromwell to his wife; 'Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father's death, and if he can, he is unworthy of the crown.' Failing the King of England, it was proposed that the Lady Frances should wed a French prince, the Duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the Prince of Condé; and a sovereignty, won in the Spanish Netherlands, was to be the price of this alliance. But this idea also fell to the ground, and Cromwell was thinking of marrying his daughter to a wealthy gentleman of Gloucestershire, when he was led to believe, by domestic gossip, that one of his own chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a young man of pleasing manners, and 'a top wit of his court,' was secretly paying his addresses to Lady Frances, who was far from discouraging his attentions. Entering his daughter's room suddenly one day, the Protector caught White on his knees, kissing the lady's hand. 'What is the meaning of this?' he demanded. 'May it please your Highness,' replied White, with great presence of mind, pointing to one of the lady's maids who happened to be in the room, 'I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me.' 'How now, hussy!' said Cromwell, to the young woman; 'why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such.' 'If Mr. White intends me that honour,' answered the woman, with a very low courtesy, 'I shall not be against him.' 'Say'st thou so, my lass?' said Cromwell; 'call Goodwin! this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room.' Goodwin, the chaplain, arrived; White had gone too far to recede, and he was married on the spot to the young woman, on whom Cromwell bestowed a fitting portion. A short time afterwards, on the 11th of November, 1657, Lady Frances married Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and heir to that nobleman's influence and estates."

He was careful, nevertheless, not to allow any direct expression of his hopes or wishes to escape him. The project was moved onwards by indirect means, and through the agency of unrecognized, and sometimes of obscure instruments. No man ever possessed, in a higher degree, the power of acquiring or maintaining personal influence over those with whom he came into connection. He knew how to accommodate himself to every temper, and to every variety of character. He could pray with the pious, and ruffle with the roisterer. He could shed tears with a sentimental devotee, and clap a jolly companion on the back. He was equally at his ease conferring on some high point of spirituality with a popular preacher, and smoking tobacco with a troop of old brethren in arms. More than one of his contemporaries and friends relate, that, when he had to deal with vulgar fanatics, with "preachers or popular dreamers," he would send for them to his private apartments, "would enter with them into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door and making them sit down covered by him." He would open his heart to them, as to old and true friends. To them he would profess that he "would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship;" he would assure them, "that he was only anxious to surrender the heavy load lying upon him." He would pray with them; entertain them with edifying discourses, and often carry his pious emotion to downright tears; for he was a very Job Trotter, when weeping was the order of the day. If, on the contrary, he wished to deal with the courtier or soldier class, he would as readily throw himself into their peculiar honour. He could bend himself to the lightest familiarity. He would cap verses with the dilettante, and talk of deeds of arms with the rough soldier. He would call for pipes and tobacco for their entertainment, and would even occasionally indulge in a pipe to keep them company. In all this, he never lost sight of the main object. A few days after Jephson had for the first time brought forward, in the course of a debate in Cromwell's last parliament, the proposal to make him king, Cromwell gently reproved him, and expressed his "wonder what he could mean by such a proposition;" and when Jephson protested that he "would always discharge his conscience, even though his opinion should displease," he clapped him on the shoulder, telling him to "get-a-gone for a mad fellow;" but "it soon appeared," says Ludlow,

who relates this story, "with what madness he was possessed; for *he immediately obtained a company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself!*"

The financial embarrassments caused by the war with Spain,—one of the most indefensible, perhaps, whether on motives of justice or of policy, in which England was ever plunged by her rulers, forced upon the Protector the unpalatable expedient of calling a Parliament. There can be no doubt, however, that he hoped at the same time to make this Parliament the instrument of his grand ambition; and no pains were spared on his own part and that of his agents to ensure the election of members, on whose pliancy full reliance might be placed. The efforts of James to effect a similar purpose, which Mr. Macaulay has immortalized in his elaborate pages, will almost appear tame beside M. Guizot's more brief and sober narrative of Cromwell's proceedings. And yet, more energetic than James, Cromwell did not stop with the elections. He never liked half measures; and, accordingly, the newly-elected body of members was subjected to a "purge," even before their admission to sit in the house.

"On leaving the Painted Chamber, Cromwell returned to Whitehall, and the members of Parliament proceeded to the hall in which their meetings were held. At the doors they were met by guards who, before admitting them, required each of them to produce his certificate of admission. Most of them did so; but others had no certificate, and were not allowed to enter. Their surprise and indignation were great. What was the certificate thus demanded? By whom, and by what right, was it granted or refused? This was soon explained; the document was in this form:—'These are to certify that \_\_\_\_\_ is returned by indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament, for the County of \_\_\_\_\_, and approved by his Highness's Council. (Signed) Nathaniel Taylor, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.' About three hundred members were provided with the certificate; a hundred and two had not received it, and were consequently excluded from the Parliament."

The Parliament was forced to submit, notwithstanding a protest from the excluded members, not only to this arbitrary mutilation, but also to many other indignities and humiliations from its despotic master. At last the moment came for the decisive experiment. By slow but steady steps; by alternate checks and impulses; by reserves and

confidences ; by hints and denials ; the mind of the court, the parliament, the army, and the nation, was prepared for the proposal ; and on the 31st of March, 1657, Widdrington, the speaker of the house, presented to His Highness, the long-projected petition in eighteen articles ; the chief of which were, the restoration of the kingship and of a second House of Parliament, to be denominated the " Other House ;" a new franchise ; a permanent system of revenue, and the establishment of the Protestant religion with " a provision for tender consciences."

We know few more curiously interesting episodes in the history of intrigue than that which followed this memorable proposition ;—the coquetting of Cromwell with the Parliament and of the Parliament with Cromwell ; the skill and dexterity with which each party, while nominally addressing the other, yet in reality spoke to the nation at large ; the craft with which the Protector intrigued to be forced into compliance, and the awkward and ungracious pride with which the Parliament shrank from forcing its favours on his acceptance ; the manœuvres by which Cromwell tried to disarm the opposition, or silence the scruples of the uncompromising republicans to whose arms he had owed all his greatness ; and the sturdy yet deeply-planned scheme by which they at once forced him to abandon his darling project, and, at the same time deprived him of the merit of the sacrifice.

In no part of the narrative has M. Guizot been more completely successful ; and we deeply regret that the necessities of space compel us to close it abruptly, and to pass over many details on which we had designed to dwell. The last scenes of the Protector's wonderful career are sketched with great power ; nor has any former historian depicted with more graphic force that extraordinary death-bed, the strangest phases of which are wisely disguised under Archbishop Tillotson's epigrammatic phrase, that " religious enthusiasm gained the victory over hypocrisy."

We shall only add our confident belief that M. Guizot's calm and philosophical estimate of the character of Cromwell and of his career, will do much to restore the equilibrium of historical criticism, in so far as it had been disturbed by the affectation or fanaticism of the Carlyle school. In his pages, Oliver Cromwell appears once more in the light in which contemporary history, through all the smoke and glare inseparable from every picture of

such a time, has truly represented him—a hero in intellect, in practical wisdom, in sagacity,—above all, in iron firmness and energy of will,—but yet in motives, in purposes, in mean ambitions, in the love of crooked and tortuous paths, a man, with all the passions and weaknesses of his kind. That he was capable of great things; that he actually did effect great things; that he was influenced in the main by a sense of public right; that his general policy was directed towards what he believed to be the true interests of his country; all this, and more, it is impossible to deny. But in all this, according to M. Guizot's view, to which we heartily subscribe, he never lost sight of the objects of his selfish ambition. By a strange union of qualities, which are seldom associated together, he was at once impetuous and crafty, adventurous and timid. He never could “go straight forward.” He loved to “plunge into all sorts of indirect, and even contrary paths” (II. p. 313.) He was “influenced by no scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct, and from seeking new friends.” (II. p. 277.) He was ready to ally himself with any instruments where he thought he could use them for his own purposes, and equally ready to fling them aside when that purpose was effected. With all his hatred of popery, he coquetted with Cardinal Mazarin, in order to attain a passing advantage. The apocryphal tale of his secret negotiation with the pope, alluded to above, shows significantly enough what was the opinion which his contemporaries entertained of his duplicity. And we should not do justice to our own feelings if we did not add, that, in our eyes, it is by no means the least revolting among the duplicities which M. Guizot's history reveals, that he was ready to enter into alliance with the Catholic party in Ireland, (I. p. 86.) and to secure them the free exercise of their religion; although, when occasion offered, he persecuted them with a ferocity for which their long history of suffering, all bloody as it is, cannot furnish a parallel.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Translation of the Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri.* By the Rev. E. O'DONNELL. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

The "Divina Commedia" of Dante is the first great poem of which we can say that it is the creation of the Catholic mind. In the Catholic literature of the middle Ages it occupied the position which the Iliad of Homer held with respect to the literature of Greece in the pride of its ancient glory. Much as the personal feelings and the local history of the author, of his beloved Beatrice, and of Florence itself are mixed up in its composition, still it easily bears the palm among all modern poems for its grandeur of conception, its boldness of poetical figure, the richness of its ornament, and above all, for the splendid sublimity with which it lays open to our eyes the mysteries of another world. And yet, with all its simplicity and grandeur, the "Divina Commedia" has peculiar difficulties of its own which stand sadly in the way of every translator. The continual mixture of heathen and Christian philosophy, the utterly incomprehensible character of the description which he gives of Astronomy in his "Purgatory" and "Paradise," the mysterious allegories with which the poem is interspersed throughout, the author's continual allusion to the most illustrious men of his own day in brief and obscure phraseology—all contribute to present innumerable difficulties to the mind and pen of the translator, as Mr. O'Donnell very justly warns us by way of apology. Not that we think an apology is due from one like Mr. O'Donnell, who has been devoting himself for years to the study of his author, and has left untried no means of ascertaining that author's meaning, and of illustrating it from extraneous sources. We have lately seen several translations of Dante; but we are obliged to confess that from the perusal of one and all we have risen up but half satisfied; and perhaps we may feel obliged to confess after all that, like the Iliad, the "Divina Commedia" never can be adequately rendered in English. This, however, does not forbid the making of attempts to

translate the immortal poem of Dante, as is shown by the fact that several such attempts have been made, with great success, quite recently: and among the rest, we must be allowed to plead for Mr. O'Donnell the character of a most careful and accurate translator. Yet he does not adhere so closely to the phrases of the original Italian as to make his book unreadable as an *English* volume. He has happily avoided that fault, which, we regret to say, is so common in Catholic writers of the present day—(doubtless the result of their constant study of books of devotion or dogmatical teaching in the original)—the fault of interlarding their English with Latin words and Latin phraseology, instead of adhering to that good old Anglo-Saxon element, which happily still composes the “better half” of our language.

We should, perhaps, add that owing to the sharp and sometimes indiscriminating censures of various ecclesiastical rulers, with which the *Divina Commedia* abounds, it is not a book to be placed in every young person's hands without a guide. This guide Mr. O'Donnell has supplied in the shape of some excellent foot-notes, illustrative of historical allusions and cotemporary customs. To each canto also he has subjoined its allegorical signification in a few plain and terse lines, just sufficient to enable the reader to realize Dante's religious meaning, which, we fear, is sadly obscure to, and consequently much perverted by, the average run of English readers. We have, therefore, great pleasure in recommending the present volume to our friends.

II.—*Lecture on Jesuitism*, Delivered in the New Hall, Leicester, May 3rd, 1854, By WILLIAM HENRY ANDERDON. Leicester: Fieldwick.

We have before had occasion to notice lectures delivered by Mr. Anderdon. This gentleman has an evident talent for this kind of public speaking, and the lecture before us is an excellent specimen of his style; his train of reasoning is suggestive and interesting. And his perfect command of his subject, of his language, of his temper, and of the attention of his hearers; the keenness of every point that he takes, and the quiet irony that runs through the discourse, cannot fail to produce a strong effect upon the mind.

III.—*The History of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God.* Translated from the French of M. L'ABBE ORSINI, by the REV. PATRICK POWER. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1854.

We have read and recommended with pleasure many excellent works, tending to encourage and facilitate devotions to our Blessed Lady. The present is on a new plan; it is a rapid summary of the history of the Devotion itself, as it has existed in the Catholic Church from the beginning; showing, in the first place, the universality, the fervour, and the continuance of this devotion over the whole of Christendom; in the second, how invariably it has been connected with all that was beautiful, refined, and good; lastly, that wherever it has been rejected, it has been in company with fundamental doctrines. The Book concludes with a short justification of Catholic veneration for the Mother of our Redeemer: in which the chief novelty is the multitude of the quotations which the author has collected from amongst the most remarkable of our opponents, in justification of our opinions; showing how strongly great minds are attracted to this devotion, even from the depths of error. Perhaps no logic could have been more effectual for the defence of the cause so dear to every Catholic, as that which M. l'Abbé Orsini has here adopted. The weight of the *popular voice* is recognized; its power over the human heart is amongst the traditions of universal humanity; the consent of the wise and good must act powerfully upon every intellect not blinded by pride. The difficulty is to concentrate, and make evident this general consent, as to bring it to bear upon all classes of thinkers. The summary of history which can effect this must be brief, graphic, and forcible; combining broad generalization with something of the interest of narrative. Such a summary, we think, the Abbé Orsini has succeeded in giving. "God created the lily as an ornament to the earth, and for His own pleasure," say the Hebrews. "True religion," our author continues, "crushes not the arts, which are the flowers of intelligence; on the contrary, it cultivates them, and, with a maternal affection, directs their tendency."—p. 161.

Volumes might be written to illustrate the influence which the love of Mary has exercised upon the intellect and arts of Christendom. In so limited a space only a few instances could be touched upon.

"Music," says M. Orsini, "which, according to the expression of an ancient writer, had produced only monsters, became of itself simple in its strains, under the chaste and inspiring look of the descendant of David.....In the west, when music, long forgotten by nations who scarcely had taste for anything save the clash of lances, awoke suddenly as if from a long sleep, it was under the auspices of Mary. The celebrated canticle to the Mother of God, the *Boga Rodzica* of St. Adalbert, succeeded in Poland, to the wild chant of the Waidclotes. The *cantadors* of Guienne, the *troubadours* of Provence, the minstrels of England and of Neustria, essayed their first notes in honour of the Blessed Virgin. In the classical land of Harmonia, for a long series of years, the Venetian gondolier knew no other ballad than the *Madriale*, a hymn to Mary, and the *cantadino* of the country round Naples played or sung no other when accompanying his guitar."—p. 16.

Of poets, we are told that "it was a pious belief in the early days of Christianity, that the Blessed Mother of the Redeemer took under her special protection those whose verses were pure; she was, it was then said, 'bonorum poetarum magistratam.'"

"In Brittany, where the Gallican bards survived longer than in any other place, the canticles to the Virgin Mary were substituted without a perceptible transition for the terrible and mysterious chants of the Druids. Colloquial ballads, popular odes on religious subjects, were the foundation of the national music of the people, who seemed to awaken with hands joined and on bended knees to an artistic feeling. Each Breton ballad included an invocation to the Virgin, a pious reflection, or a beautiful moral; for, in the Catholic system at that time, everything was so closely linked as to infuse into the minds of the people a high tone of morality, and to give them a taste for that quiet domestic happiness which was within their reach. . . . The Christmas Carols, those joyous tunes, so full of the sweet remembrances of the Virgin of Bethlehem—the Christmas carols sung at night by torch-light across the country whitened with snow, or by the antique mangers ornamented with evergreens and December flowers, had been the favourite melodies of every province in France, up to the time of that frightful revolution which swept before it so many sweet and beautiful practices of faith. Our Church hymns have impressed music with a noble and serene character, which fills and overpowers the soul, and plunges it into infinity. The Christmas carols, though simple in their arrangement, have given music a colouring altogether Arcadian. It is the bird's warbling gaily rising towards God, to celebrate the mystery of joy; it is the woody perfume embalming the altar of the youthful Mother of our Redeemer. The sweet and rural poetry set to

these delightful airs, breathes the coolness of the grove, the scent of the white thorn, the sweetness of the beehive, and the bleating of lambs. It is the music of the people, the music of the shepherds, the music of nature itself. In the Christmas carols Mary is always described as a young, beautiful, and artless virgin, who swathes in poor clothes the King of angels, and who is too absorbed in joy to bestow a thought on the poverty of the stable, or on the straw of the cradle; the people, who were inured to privation of every kind, have dwelt not on the indigence, but on the happiness of the Mother of Christ. It is a picture of Claude Lorraine, in which every figure glows. In the *Stabat*, poetically named by the Italians *Il pianto di Maria*,—the wailing of Mary—we do not find the joys of the nativity, but the terrors of Golgotha. It is an agonizing chant, throughout which pervades deep, gloomy dejection, mingled with outpourings which pierce the soul like a thousand swords. It is the poignant recital of the sufferings of a mother, who beholds a son, loved with an only love, expiring before her eyes.”—p. 165.

Mary had her part, though a less apparent one, in architecture, in those days when

“The poor unpretending workmen made *their tour of France*, offering their trowels and hammers wherever the piety of the faithful was erecting churches. The greater number demanded no wages; bread and some vegetables were all that they required, and for a sleeping place, they were content with the bare ground. During two centuries, a hundred thousand men were seen winding their way, at different times, to the cathedral of Strasburg, which Werner, the bishop, dedicated to Mary. . . . .

Under the shadow of the sacred walls, slept, too, the innumerable workmen who attended them. From age to age, the Church prayed for and blessed them, in their plain and unpretending stone graves. And this was a recompense worthy the ambition of spiritual men, who rated life at its just value.”—p. 186.

Sculpture received a new impulse from this devotion.

“Sculpture is under many obligations to Mary. Greece has statues in a sitting, erect, and reclining posture; but it could not represent the divine, suppliant posture of our Lady of Dolours; it had not placed innocence and purity on the knees before God; the Bacchantes, or the ancient Silenus, had almost exclusive possession of its beautiful creations of marble. Mary, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, revealed, both to art and to society, the religion of maternity, and opened to sculpture a career of moral subjects hitherto unknown.”—p. 184.

How impossible would it be to tell the heights to which

painting has attained in the attempt to delineate the glories of Mary, whether as Virgin, as Mother, or as Queen. We admit that this is the flowery and imaginative portion of the argument, which all minds cannot well appreciate, and to which, therefore, we have, perhaps, given undue prominence; that which follows is more important, and might receive great amplification. It consists in showing how completely this devotion is interwoven in the whole Catholic theory, and how invariably where it has been rejected, other doctrines one after the other have been given up. How rightly, therefore, and how fervently should we enforce and practise the devotion to the Mother of Our Lord, and of "His brethren."

IV.—*Probable Origin of the American Indians, with particular reference to that of the Caribs.* A paper read before the Ethnological Society, the 15th of March, 1854, by JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., L.L.B. Late her Britannic Majesty's judge in the *Mixed Court* at Havanna. London: Lumley, 1854.

Mr. Kennedy has had peculiar advantages for prosecuting the study to which he has given so much of his attention. He has been long a resident abroad, a traveller, accustomed to bring the results of his own observations to bear upon his extensive acquired information; and his remarks upon the interesting subject he has undertaken to investigate will be found well worth the attention of the curious, and of the learned reader.

V.—*Catholic Tracts of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.* From the French. By Episcopal Authority. Published for the Council of Direction of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The present is emphatically the age of cheap literature. We had almost said of cheap "books," but really it is our firm belief that while "books" are bought, it is cheap and popular magazines that are read, and that serials are rapidly gaining the day, and continually increasing their sphere of usefulness. The sects of Protestantism, all more or less opposed to us, are sharp enough to see this fact, and to act accordingly. They are "wiser in their generation than the children of light," and they show their wisdom in their deeds. We suppose that the Catholic world in general has no conception of the indefatigable energy and industry which is brought to bear against our holy faith by



the light literature of this country. What the amount of it must be is a calculation which can scarcely be made from the existing data. One fact, however, we will mention; and that is that the "Religious Tract Society," which is patronised by the "evangelical" section of the Established Church and the less violent parties of dissenters, professes in its published report to have circulated during the course of last year, no less than 150,000 tracts, besides larger publications: and it is well known that a larger proportion of these tracts are controversial, and that their chief object of attack is Popery.

It is clear that the movements of the enemy must be met upon their own ground, if they are to be met at all. A cheap popular literature is probably, if we analyse it, a Protestant creation; but it would be the height of folly on that account to neglect to make use of a weapon which our antagonists know how to wield with such effect.

Now, although several very praiseworthy efforts have been made in several quarters to provide a series of cheap Catholic tracts to counteract the above-mentioned evil, there is no doubt that Catholics, as a body, secure in their position upon the rock of infallible truth, do sadly forget the great necessity which lies upon them, to supply the wants of their poorer brethren in this respect. The "Clifton Tracts," brought out, as they have been, under able editors, and great as the credit which they reflect upon the Brotherhood of St. Vincent of Paul at Clifton, still shoot above the heads of the common herd; and therefore, while they do great and extensive good among thoughtful shopkeepers and clear, strong-headed, argument-loving mechanics, and among a class considerably above them in position, fail to meet the great want of the age—food for the poor man's soul and mind.

Now in France this same society has for some time past been engaged in a laudable endeavour to spread among the masses a cheap and humble literature based on sound Catholic principles, and inculcating every duty in its relation to the Catholic Faith. An effort has been made to reproduce in an English form a part of the Tracts which the Society has published in France with such success: and the Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul at Belfast has taken the effort under its especial care and protection. It has brought out seven little monthly tracts, at the low price of one halfpenny apiece, and will distribute

them in packets at 2s. 6d. a hundred. This is as it should be. This is taking the right position. This is meeting the enemy on his own ground. The step is one which needs only the warm and hearty co-operation of the Catholic body, throughout England and Wales. The subjects chosen in the seven tracts which we have already seen are most happy, as embracing a wide sphere of dogmatical statement and devout reflections; and we are particularly pleased to see a few hymns, good anecdotes, and useful papers of advice, interspersed with graver matters in such a way as is sure to make the tracts favourites with our lower orders. Among the subjects to which we could call attention as being more particularly well written, are "The Sign of the Cross," "The Pope," "The Rosary," the "Month of Mary," "Ill-gotten Goods," "St. Geneviève," "Who Invented Confession?" and "What a poor Priest was able to accomplish."

We have great pleasure in recommending this series of Tracts for another reason: though controversial in one sense, it is not so in another. It does not consist of angry and offensive attacks on the religion of our neighbours. It teaches Catholicity; it does not merely abuse and revile Protestantism and Protestants. The writers indite their papers as *Christians* and as *gentlemen*; and to judge from the first seven numbers which have appeared, Catholics will never have cause to feel ashamed of the Tracts in which their religion is set forth by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

VI.—*The Bible in the Middle Ages*: with Remarks on the Libraries, Schools, and Social and Religious aspects of Mediæval Europe. By LEICESTER AMBROSE BUCKINGHAM. London: T. C. Newby, 1853.

This is a wide field of enquiry to be treated of in one small volume. In fact, the subject is inexhaustible; and every writer according to his reading and his turn of mind, may bring forward new facts without danger of irksome repetition. Mr. Buckingham has given to the world a very interesting book, most pleasingly written, and containing many illustrations of the spirit of the Church in the Middle Ages, and her power over the society she had to rule and to save; a subject of unflinching interest, and in every point of view instructive. The book is divided into four sections. The first and the third are upon "The

Bible in the Middle Ages," and upon "Books, Libraries, and Schools in the Middle Ages;" the second chapter, upon "Monastic Life in the Middle Ages," is particularly delightful, inclining us to exclaim with Vincent of Beauvais, that monks were "glorious men, rich in virtue, studious of beauty, living at peace in their domains, and obtaining reverence in the generations of their nation." The fourth chapter, upon "The Church and the People in the Middle Ages," we like least. All writers on this exciting glorious period of the world's history are sure to be carried away by their enthusiasm, and thus impeach their judgment. Our author is no exception. Amongst many sound reflections he has some upon war, which cannot be defended for a moment. He praises the generals of the middle ages, that "they did not, as in modern engagements, retreat from the peril in which they had placed their soldiers, and watch the progress of the fight from an adjacent eminence, *secure from personal danger*." The "general fighting on foot, that his followers might see that he had placed flight beyond his reach, and was resolved to conquer or die,"—"Richard Cœur-de-Lion leaping from his galley, that he might strike the first blow in battle,"—this is his idea. There is no sense of the fitness of things in praising these instances as characteristics of the *Leader* to whom men intrust the care of a great cause. We might give other instances of such partial and mistaken judgments, but we refrain from doing so, for they are but exceptions in the work, slight blemishes upon its general tenor of learning, clear logic, and pious thought. We must add, that the appendix contains some curious statistical information.

VII.—*The Catholic Biography, or Lives of many Persons eminent for Sanctity in various States of Life*.—London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son.

We do not feel that we are at all called upon to enter here into a formal discussion upon the value and advantages of biographical works in general; much less upon the necessity, or at least the great utility of such works to Catholics, if they desire, in any degree, to realize the high standard of Christian excellence which is set before them in every state of life to which they may be called. It is an old and trite observation that *precept* does not teach by half so well as *example*, and that no motive to

advancement in the higher stages of the Christian life can be placed before persons, equally persuasive with the arguments to be learned from the *sight* of what others, perhaps equally weak and frail as ourselves, have been enabled to perform by the all-powerful grace of God. The "Catholic Biography" is an attempt to set before the eyes of the Catholic public certain examples of practical excellence, which have appeared in these latter days upon the stage of Christian life; and we can safely recommend it to the attentive perusal of our Catholic friends, and especially of the young. The narratives contained in this volume, as we have already stated, are taken from every state and condition of life: we have here set before us the religious inmates of both monasteries and convents; we have the lives of gentlemen, tradesmen, merchants, lawyers, widows and matrons; and we scarcely know which to single out as the most edifying to the devout reader. To the end of the volume are subjoined a few pages discussing "the means of perfection, and the interior life," by Surin,—pages which give us a key to the entire volume, as furnishing us with the rule, in accordance with which, each follower of Christ, whose biography is given here, was careful to shape his or her spiritual life. The "biographies" are each of them told in a simple and homely style, in just such a way, we think, as will serve to make them great favourites with thinking persons of the middle classes. We feel sure that with these persons,—scarcely able as they are to appreciate the weight of abstract arguments, or to follow out the deductions of reasoning,—the plain practical method of teaching by example will be the most cogent argument, after all, in favour of leading a devout and holy life, according to their state; and we shall be much mistaken if the *practical, historical, matter of fact* pages of this little work, will not be found to bear fruit in due season, and to be blessed to the conversion of souls to the *one true Faith, which can nourish and rear Saints.*

VIII.—*The Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, vol. II. London, Dublin, and Derby; Richardson and Son, 1854.

This volume concludes the wonderful life of this seraphic and most glorious Saint. Particular care seems to have been bestowed upon this Life, and the notes by which it is enriched are full of learning and piety. The book is a trea-

sure of edification, which cannot be too highly recommended for the reading of all Christians.

IX.—*The Odes of Horace*; translated into Unrhymed Metres, with Introductions and Notes. By F. W. NEWMAN, Professor of Latin, University College, London. London: Chapman, 1853.

This is the work of a complete scholar: and we think that its value will be appreciated by scholars chiefly, rather than by the "*unlearned* English reader," for whom the author has intended it. Those who know the Odes of Horace in the original will feel pleasure in observing the learning and ingenuity which the translator has brought to bear upon difficulties, in our opinion insuperable. Such readers as these will appreciate the skill with which Mr. Newman has laboured to render the Latin language, literally, *bodily*, as it were, into ours, so different as it is in spirit and construction. A scholar would also do justice to the treatise upon the Latin and English metres, which Mr. Newman has prefixed to the work, and to the valuable notes with which he has enriched it. But the *unlearned* reader will require, as the result of all this skill and trouble, poems such as a poet might have written; easy, harmonious, *readable*,—and we do not think this result has been attained.

Setting aside all theories as to the duties of a translator in general, or the difficulties of his task in this instance, these little poems, as they stand, are crabbed, ungraceful, and obscure; faithful they certainly are, but the subtle beauties of Horace have evaporated. We are sadly afraid we might deserve Mr. Newman's indignant charge against the English public,—of finding Dickens and Thackeray more amusing.

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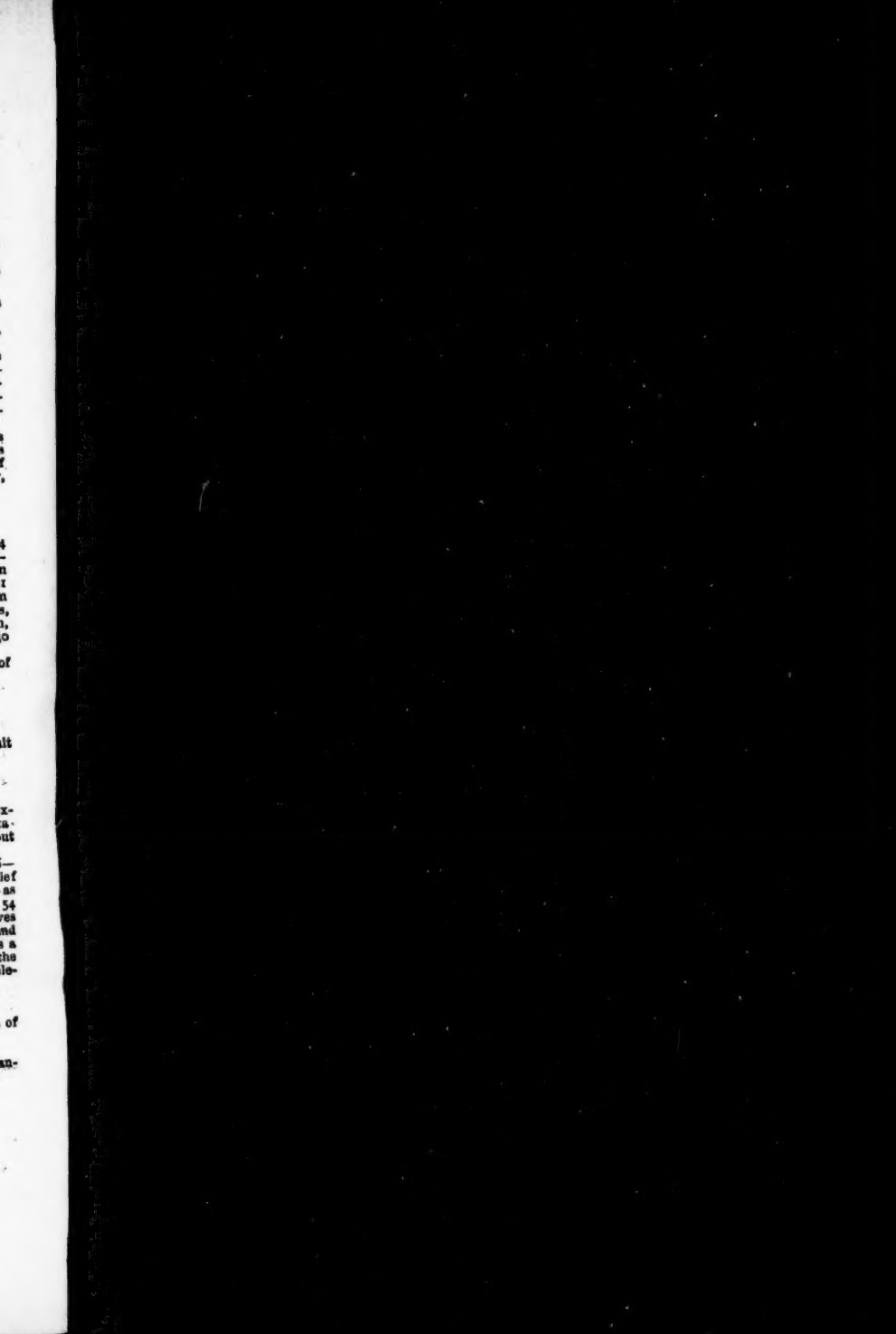
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